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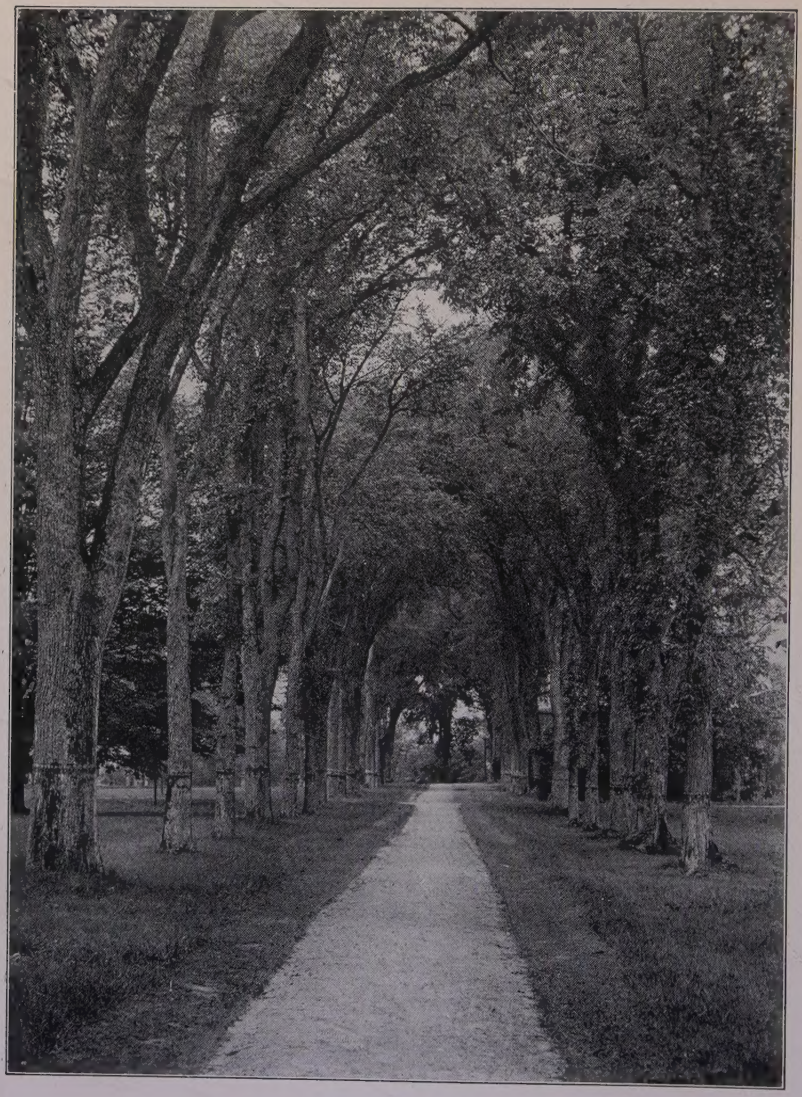

THE ELM ARCH

AN OLD NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL

A HISTORY OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY ANDOVER

BY

CLAUDE M. FUESS

With Illustrations

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DEDICATED

TO

ALFRED LAWRENCE RIPLEY
CHARLES HENRY FORBES
JAMES COWAN SAWYER
ALFRED ERNEST STEARNS

EACH IN A DIFFERENT FIELD A BUILDER

OF THE

MODERN PHILLIPS ACADEMY

PREFACE

In the preparation of this book material has been gathered from many sources, a large part of them documentary. Fully two hundred graduates of the school have generously sent anecdotes and reminiscences of their days on the Hill. I am especially indebted to Dr. William A. Mowry for the loan of a collection of papers relating to Dr. Taylor's administration; and to Miss Agnes and Miss Gertrude Brooks of North Andover, for permission to investigate the correspondence of various members of the Phillips family in their possession. Mr. Markham W. Stackpole, with whom I have frequently consulted, has read my manuscript entire and has offered a great deal of valuable criticism. To Dr. Alfred E. Stearns, Mr. Alfred L. Ripley, and Professor James Hardy Ropes, each of whom has taken the trouble to read the volume, I am grateful for important suggestions. Among the others who have gone over various chapters and have aided me by their advice are Mr. James C. Sawyer, Professor Henry P. Wright, Professor Charles H. Forbes, the Reverend C. C. Carpenter, Mr. George T. Eaton, and Mr. Laurence M. Crosbie, of Exeter, New Hampshire. My wife has had such a large share in the planning of the book that it is useless to attempt to express my gratitude to her. It is difficult also to put into words my obligation to

the Trustees of Phillips Academy, — especially to Dr. Stearns, Mr. Ripley, and Mr. Sawyer, — whose support in trying moments has been encouraging and who have never withheld assistance when it was needed.

C. M. F.

Andover, Massachusetts,
January 1, 1917.

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AN OLD NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL

AN OLD NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

It is something to have been educated on a hill.

Some good chance guides us to Andover Hill, it may be for the first time. The stately Elm Arch, lofty and symmetrical, stretches out before us, shading the broad playing-fields which it borders. To left and right are dignified halls and houses which seem to reach far back into a New England past. If we come on a bright morning, we linger in delight over the view across the valley to the wooded ranges beyond; if at evening, we may catch a glimpse of one of those gorgeous sunsets which turn all the western sky to gold. The great school is near at hand, where we can respond to the throbbing pulse of its vitality. Hundreds of boys may be dashing to and fro across the Campus, or, through the half-darkness, lights may be glimmering from countless windows. Vague recollections of other towns, possibly of other similar schools, pass before our mental vision. The particular emotions which move us are, after all, not altogether unusual. But when we learn to know the Hill, we realize that it has a peculiar fascination, — that it possesses that mysterious thing called personality.

What that personality is cannot be summed up in a phrase. It may be that, like the charm of many a noble painting, it is inexplicable and defies analysis. But that, though indefinable, it really exists, no Andover man will ever deny. When he comes to estimate the permanent values of his education, he will, perhaps, recall a teacher from whom he drew inspiration, a friend who taught him some vital lesson, a scholar who gave him a clue to right thinking, a preacher who showed him how to guard aright the immediate jewel of his soul; but there will be something left which he cannot measure, something which he seldom appreciates until his youth is gone irrevocably. Phillips Academy has left upon him, if he is worthy of her, the impress of her traditions.

On Andover Hill the very stones have tales to tell, and every path is filled with memories. Distinguished names come to our minds, and we feel as Wordsworth felt when he walked over the college lawns at Cambridge: —

> I could not print
> Ground where the grass had yielded to the steps
> Of generations of illustrious men
> Unmoved. I could not always lightly pass
> Through the same gateways, sleep where they had slept,
> Wake where they waked, range that enclosure old,
> That garden of great intellects undisturbed.

Associations and reminiscences are alike inspiring. The ancient oaks and elms, the soft-hued brick of the dormitories against a leafy background, the gabled "Queen Anne" residences of a less artistic time, the

new Phillips Gateway and the newer Peabody House, — all these blend, the old with the modern, to make the Hill a lovely place to look upon.

Such a gift of beauty belongs to certain English schools, like Harrow and Winchester. But their picturesque individuality, so attractive to visitors, is merged in something broader and finer. It is their glory also that they are linked inseparably with the British Empire and its future. Swinburne has expressed this eloquently in his lines on the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Eton College: —

Still the reaches of the river, still the light on field and hill,
Still the memories held aloft as lamps for hope's young fire to fill
Shine, and while the light of England lives shall shine for England still.

So Phillips Academy, born and nurtured in critical days when our national consciousness was in the making, has had its part in our American history. It is something that "My country, 't is of thee," was written on Andover Hill.

It has seemed to Phillips men that the story of their school is worth relating, not only to revive traditions and to restate the old ideals, but also to reveal how closely the life of Phillips Academy is bound up with that of our country and how much it has done and can do to create a national mind. Into the school as a melting-pot come every year hundreds of boys from widely separated sections of our vast and heterogeneous land. If Phillips Academy is to continue to be great, it must do more than prepare them for college, more even than eradicate provincialism or keep

them in the ways of clean living. It must give its students a conception of the meaning of loyalty — loyalty, first of all, to the school itself, but, beyond and above all that, to the nation of which Phillips Academy, we trust, is representative and to which it has already made its honorable contribution.

CHAPTER II

A PURITAN FAMILY

A PHILLIPS crossed the water with John Winthrop, and from him descended a long line of ministers, judges, governors, and councillors — a sterling race, temperate, just, and high-minded.

THE record of the Phillips family in New England is long and honorable. The story properly begins on Saturday, June 12, 1630, when the sturdy ship *Arbella*, with John Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, and other Puritan leaders on board, anchored in Salem Harbor, after a tempestuous passage across the Atlantic. One of the little company was the Reverend George Phillips, of Rainham, Norfolk County, England. Like many of the Puritan divines, he was a graduate of Cambridge, where, on April 20, 1610, at the age of seventeen, he had matriculated at Gonville and Caius College, taking his bachelor's degree in 1613 and his master's degree four years later. Phillips, who had settled as a minister in Suffolk County, but who was a sympathizer with the nonconformist agitation then rapidly spreading during the opening years of Charles I, took with him his sickly wife and two small children and joined the emigrants on the *Arbella*, apparently acting as officiating clergyman of the party. In recognition of his sacred calling, his parishioners paid his expenses for the voyage. Soon after the landing on Massachusetts shores his wife was taken dangerously ill, and within a few weeks was

buried in Salem beside the unfortunate Lady Arbella Johnson, who had died in August, 1630.

The Reverend George Phillips soon found a suitable field for his ministrations in the new settlement at Watertown on the Charles River, where, at an annual stipend of forty pounds or its equivalent in provisions, he remained until his death fourteen years later, taking an active part in the community deliberations and helping to organize the church of the colony. He was evidently a strong-minded, independent thinker, not unlike the contumacious Roger Williams, and on at least one occasion he was accused of maintaining the heresy that the Church of Rome is a true church. In another instance his liberty-loving spirit was responsible for important historic consequences. When in 1632 the Governor and his "Assistants" levied a tax of eight pounds on Watertown for the purpose of fortifying New Town (Cambridge), the pastor persuaded his congregation to refuse to submit to the assessment, on the ground "that it was not safe to pay money after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and their posterity into bondage." As a direct result of this Watertown protest, two deputies were chosen from each settlement to consult with the Board of Assistants; thus, what might easily have developed into an oligarchical type of colonial government was turned into a system of popular representation. The Reverend George Phillips thus, as one writer says, "assisted in giving form and character to the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of New England."

The good clergyman died suddenly on July 1, 1644.

On that day John Winthrop made the following entry regarding him in his "Diary": —

> He was the first pastor of the church of Watertown, a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others.

The few anecdotes recorded of the Reverend George Phillips indicate that he was a man who, in a pious age, was conspicuous for personal piety. It was said that he read the entire Bible at least six times a year, and that he was able to turn to any stated text without the aid of a concordance. He was accustomed to spend the interval between his two sermons on Sunday in conferring "with such of his good people as resorted unto his house." Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* makes the Watertown Congregationalist the subject of a carefully drawn eulogy, in which emphasis is laid on his faithfulness in office. "He was indeed," says Mather, "among the first saints of New England — a good man and full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." It was for Phillips that Mather, in one of his whimsical moods, designed the remarkable epitaph, so delightful in its ambiguity: —

> Hic jacet GEORGIUS PHILLIPPI
> Vir incomparabilis, nisi SAMUELEM genuisset

Of the eleven children of the Reverend George Phillips several survived him — the most important being the eldest, Samuel Phillips, born in Boxted, England, in 1625. After the father's death the members of his congregation, according to generally accepted tradition, undertook to educate this boy, and through their efforts Samuel was sent to Harvard

College, where he graduated in 1650. A year later he became the minister of Rowley, near Newburyport, and remained there until his death, April 22, 1696. His estate was appraised at nine hundred and eighty-nine pounds. Of his character we can discover little, except that he had "piety and ability" of no common order. In 1678 he was awarded the honor of preaching the election sermon before the General Court of the province, and in 1687 he was imprisoned for a brief period on the charge of having called the royalist agent, Edward Randolph, a "wicked man." In 1651, at the very beginning of his ministry, he married Sarah Appleton, and he left behind him three of the eleven children born to her. She survived him until July 15, 1714, her funeral sermon being preached by her grandson, the Reverend Samuel Phillips, of Andover.

The eldest surviving son of the minister of Rowley was christened Samuel, after his father. Born March 23, 1657, he became a goldsmith in Salem, married for his first wife Sarah Emerson, daughter of the Reverend John Emerson, of Gloucester, and for his second, Mrs. Sarah (Pickman) Mayfield, and died in 1722 at Salem. The most important fact about him is that he was apparently the founder of the family fortune. In turning to trade he broke the tradition which devoted the eldest son to the Christian ministry, but he accumulated wealth which was to benefit his descendants. From his two sons, Samuel and John,[1] are to be traced two separate

[1] This younger son, John Phillips (1701–1768), became a Boston merchant. His son, William (1737–1772), married Margaret Wendell,

and almost equally distinguished branches of the Phillips family. So far as Phillips Academy is concerned, however, it is the elder branch which deserves the more attention.

Samuel Phillips, son of the goldsmith of Salem, was born February 17, 1689, and was sent to Harvard College, where he graduated in 1708. For one year he was a schoolmaster at Chebacco (now Essex); during another he preached at Norton — "very acceptably," it is said. Meanwhile a controversy had arisen in Andover over the location of a new meeting-house. So decided was the difference of opinion that in 1708 a number of members of the church withdrew from its pastor, the Reverend Thomas Barnard, formed a new parish, and constructed a building of their own, occupying it in January, 1710. In this new, or South Parish, meeting-house in Andover, Phillips began to preach on April 30, 1710. On December 12 of the same year, after the prescribed fast had been observed, he received a formal election as minister, at a salary of sixty pounds a year while he remained unmarried and ten pounds in addition "when he shall see reason to marry." Unwilling to assume such a charge while he was so young and untried, he postponed his ordination until October 17, 1711. Soon after he moved into the parsonage, which was erected

granddaughter of Governor Bradstreet and sister of Judge Oliver Wendell. Their son John (1770–1823) was the first Mayor of Boston. Of his children the most distinguished were Wendell Phillips (1811–1884), the abolitionist agitator, and John Charles Phillips (1807–1878), who was the father of John C. Phillips (1838–1885), a generous benefactor of Phillips Academy. The latter's sons and daughters recently built the Phillips Gateway on Andover Hill.

in 1710 on the southeast corner of what are now School and Central Streets.

Like his grandfather and his great-grandfather the Reverend Samuel Phillips had only one settled parish. Until April 1, 1771, during nearly sixty years of almost undisturbed prosperity, he kept his place as pastor of the South Church. His congregation started with 35 members, of whom 14 were men; before he died he had added 574 regular communicants and had baptized 2143 people of his parish. In 1727 he said, "I do not remember one native of the parish that is unbaptized." He superintended the erection of a new and larger meeting-house, which was dedicated on May 19, 1734.

The portrait of the South Church pastor, now hanging in Brechin Hall, shows a dignified, ruddy-faced man, of commanding bearing. He was accustomed to dominate in his own community, and his sane judgment, combined with his unquestioned executive ability, made him easily the leading citizen of the town. "Are you, sir, the parson who serves here?" once asked a passing traveler. "I am, sir, the parson who *rules* here," was Phillips's ready reply. Although he was not without a sense of humor, his habitual expression was so stern that his parishioners, especially the young, never cared to brave his anger. His actual salary was small; but he inherited some property from his father, and, as his family grew, he managed to secure large grants of land in newly formed townships, which increased steadily in value. It was for the sake of justice as well as of thrift that he once said to his congregation, "The fact that I have an

income of my own is no excuse for your being delinquent with my salary." He had many of the homely virtues of Benjamin Franklin, and, like Franklin, he had early acquired habits of order, industry, and economy, which led him to watch carefully the pennies. He advised his sons to be charitable to the poor, but added sound business counsel, "Keep to your shop, if you expect that to keep you, and do not be away when customers come in."

The minister had a personality both decided and original. It was his habit on Sunday to walk with his household in stately procession from the parsonage to the meeting-house, his negro servant on his left and his wife, with her attendant, on his right, the children following in the rear. When he entered the church, the congregation rose and stood until he had taken his seat behind the pulpit. His sermons, measured by an hour-glass at his side, never failed to stretch beyond the conventional sixty minutes. He tried assiduously to guard his people against error; in 1720, for example, we find him rebuking them in blunt terms for their overindulgence in strong liquors at funerals; and after the tremendous earthquake of 1755 he reproved his auditors for "sleeping away a great part of sermon-time," strengthening his admonition by a reference to the shaking "which God of late had given them." His sermons, which were plain, direct, and earnest, were carefully numbered and filed away in successive volumes; more than twenty of them were published, the most famous being *Seasonable Advice to a Neighbor* (1761) in the form of a dialogue. One in particular, a ferocious tirade delivered in 1767 after the suicide

of one of his townsmen, appeared bordered with black, with a heading of a skull and cross-bones; so terrible was its effect that the name of the poor unfortunate was seldom mentioned again in the community.

In 1712, shortly after coming to Andover, the Reverend Samuel Phillips married Hannah White, daughter of the Honorable John White, of Haverhill. With her he regularly made his parochial visits on horseback, she riding on a pillion behind him. Following the practice of even the poorest in those days, he bestowed one tenth of his income on worthy charities, and she devoted much of her time to distributing this sum among the needy families of the town. She was a lady of a large-hearted type, who, through her generosity and hospitality, increased her husband's influence.

The Reverend Samuel Phillips died on June 5, 1771, and was buried in the cemetery of his own church, six neighboring clergymen being pallbearers. His congregation passed the following resolution: —

> That the parish will be at the charge of the funeral of the Reverend S. Phillips; that at his funeral the bearers shall have rings, that the ordained ministers who attend the funeral shall have gloves, that the ministers who preached gratis in Mr. Phillips's illness shall have gloves; and voted, to hear the bearers in turn.

In his will he left one hundred pounds in trust for the poor of the church, and a like sum "for propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians of North America." His wife survived him only two years, and died January 7, 1773, at the age of eighty-two.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDERS

The logical conclusion of Religion is Education.

With the death of the Reverend Samuel Phillips the line of ministers in the family was broken for several generations; but the underlying religious spirit still existed, finding an outlet along other channels. His three sons, Samuel (1715–1790), John (1719–1795), and William (1722–1804), all were fitted best for commercial pursuits, and each in his own community became exceedingly prosperous; but they were no less devoted than their father to philanthropy, and they preserved unstained the family reputation for trustworthiness and purity of character. Although they were separated in residence, — Samuel in Andover, John in Exeter, New Hampshire, and William in Boston, — all three were intimately connected with Phillips Academy. It was through the generosity of two of them that the school was made possible, and they all joined later in placing it upon a sound financial footing.

The eldest brother, often called Esquire Phillips to distinguish him from his son, Judge Samuel Phillips, was born in Andover, February 13, 1715, and graduated from Harvard College in 1734. For a short time he taught the town grammar school in Andover; but he soon settled down in the North Parish, where he engaged in agriculture and trading. On July 11,

1738, he married Elizabeth Barnard, only child of Theodore Barnard, and cousin of a neighbor, the Reverend John Barnard. Before his marriage Phillips, assisted by his father, had managed to make a bare living; but his wife brought him a considerable fortune, which he so increased by judicious investments and the profits of mercantile enterprise that he soon accumulated more than moderate wealth. In 1752 he completed the beautiful colonial house still known as the Phillips Mansion in North Andover Center, and occupied to-day by his direct descendants, Miss Agnes and Miss Gertrude Brooks. There he resided until his death in 1790.

Esquire Phillips, who was a man of energy and talent, naturally assumed a prominent part in town affairs, and was at various times the recipient of the highest honors which his fellow citizens in Andover could offer. So far as we can judge, he was a man to be respected rather than loved. Tenacious in his opinions and haughty in his bearing, he found it difficult to unbend and make concessions to the little amenities of social life. His townspeople, however, had confidence in him, and accordingly we find him in turn a Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum, a Representative to the General Court, a member of the Convention of Deputies, and one of the Governor's Council. In the critical decade before the Revolution he guided to a large extent the action of the town authorities. In 1765, when he was Representative, his constituents, angered by the news of the passage of Grenville's Stamp Act, instructed him to oppose the operation of the measure. In June, 1768, after

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Esquire

Governor Barnard had dissolved the General Court, Phillips was sent as a delegate to a convention of representatives from various towns of the Commonwealth; and in September, when this patriotic assembly met and expressed its aversion "to standing armies, to tumults and disorders," he was present as a leader. In May of the same year, as Chairman of a Special Committee, he presented a report recommending that the citizens "by all prudent means endeavor to discountenance the importation and use of foreign superfluities, and to promote and encourage manufactures in the town." As Chairman of a similar committee in 1774 he was mainly responsible for a resolution supporting and confirming the non-importation agreement recently passed by the "Grand American Continental Congress"; and he was at once appointed Chairman of a large Committee of Safety, whose duty it was to enforce the execution of this memorable agreement. During these troublous years Esquire Phillips was regularly the Moderator of the Town Meeting. Although he was conservative in temperament and not altogether in sympathy with the movement for total separation from the mother country, he presided when the town directed a part of its militia force to enlist in the Continental army, and voted them food and supplies. With the actual outbreak of hostilities, however, his son, Samuel Phillips, Jr., gradually took his father's place as aggressive leader; but the elder Phillips, despite his instinctive reluctance to the shouldering of arms, was always ready to lend his assistance, whether in money or counsel, to the more radical of his neighbors. The charge of Toryism

occasionally brought against him has no justification.

In his domestic life Esquire Phillips was strict, but yet affectionate. There is much pathos in the fact that, of the seven children born to him, only one, Samuel Phillips, Jr., lived to maturity. The letters written by Esquire Phillips to this boy show the father as a man of the Puritan-stoic type, exacting, inflexible, but with a sensitive and tender heart. He was a natural aristocrat, without the gift for mingling on terms of intimacy with those beneath him in birth and fortune; like Byron, he was "for the people, but not of them." Scrupulously just, courageous, genuinely benevolent, he was never able, as his son was, to make himself truly popular. Very few ever found the way beneath that chilling dignity to the warm heart of the man himself.

At the time when Esquire Phillips died, August 21, 1790, he was President of the Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy, and Ebenezer Pemberton, then Principal of the school, was selected to deliver the "funeral oration." The obituary notice in the *Centinel* sums up his character with fairness if not with enthusiasm: —

> It is but a just tribute to uncommon merit to observe, that if integrity of heart, and purity of morals, an exemplary conduct in private life, a conscientious, faithful discharge of the various offices he sustained, and singular liberality in the cause of religion and learning constitute a good and great character, it was emphatically his.

Of Mrs. Phillips, who died November 29, 1789, we know very little, although one authority says, "Her

letters are very interesting, and show her to have been a woman of great piety and strong religious views." The epitaph placed over the tomb of her and her husband reads as follows: —

> This pair were friends to order in the Family, Church, and Commonwealth; examples of Industry and Economy, and patrons of Learning and Religion.

Esquire Phillips, with his wealth and public spirit, was an ideal founder for a great school; but Phillips Academy would probably never have been established had it not been for the enterprise and fertile genius of his son and heir, Samuel Phillips, Jr. To him the institution must look as to its true creator, for it was his active mind that conceived the project and his will that made it a reality. Fortunately the necessary funds were at his disposal, provided by his father and his childless uncle, John; but part of the financial sacrifice involved was his also, for, in urging the endowment of Phillips Academy, he was resigning voluntarily no small portion of his own inheritance.

On February 5, 1752, only a few days after Esquire Phillips had occupied his new mansion at North Andover, his sixth child, Samuel, was born. This house, with its beautiful paneling, its wealth of pewter and silver, its tapestries and embroideries, and its commanding situation, was the center of the sparsely settled community around the North Parish meeting-house — a district where the deer still roamed in the town forests and a bear was occasionally shot by a watchful farmer. In one section of the mansion

Esquire Phillips continued his business as merchant and trader. In the great house the boy grew up very lonely. All but one of his brothers and sisters died in childhood. His sister, Hannah, ten years older than he, was hardly suited to be his playmate, and even she was taken away in 1764, when he was only twelve years old. He was a delicate child, who required tender nursing and constant care. As his poor health prevented his taking part in the usual rough games of boyhood, he grew up somewhat solitary, fonder of books than of sports, and precocious in his studies. The atmosphere in his home also had its effect in making him prematurely a man. There he learned nearly every virtue except, perhaps, the saving grace of humor; for his family, like most of those who fought through that pioneer period, took everything, including themselves, very seriously. In some respects this distrust of frivolity and even of harmless pleasure was for them an advantage, for it enabled them to pursue, without wavering or misgiving, the course which their heritage and tastes made all but inevitable for them. The young Samuel, at any rate, accepted passively, or at least without protest, the discipline which was constantly shaping his career towards a preconceived end. The men of that age were thrown into a time when the manly virtues were all-essential; and the Puritan education, despite its frequent joylessness and its artistic shortcomings, was of the kind to produce heroes.

By the spring of 1765 Samuel Phillips, Jr., was ready to enter Dummer School at South Byfield. This institution, the forerunner of a new scheme of

education, had been established on March 1, 1763, in accordance with the terms of the will of the late Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer. The distinguished but eccentric Master, Samuel Moody, was the first Preceptor, and under him Phillips commenced his studies. The system to which the boy was subjected was in some respects singular enough. Master Moody believed in the efficacy of audible study, and his classroom, filled with the droning and murmuring of the scholars, was a Babel of confused sounds. Every day at the hour of high tide in the near-by river the boys were driven from their benches for a swim in the stream. These peculiarities aside, however, Master Moody was a conscientious and persevering teacher, and young Phillips received under him a drill in first principles which he never forgot. It was at Dummer that Phillips formed with his fellow student, Eliphalet Pearson, a friendship which was to mean much to Phillips Academy.

From Dummer School Phillips went on in 1767 to Harvard. Here he was a faithful and painstaking scholar, apparently rather slow to grasp ideas, but indefatigable in his application to books. His progress was frequently blocked by attacks of illness, which compelled him, often for weeks at a time, to retire to his home at North Andover. He was too reticent and reserved to make many close friends, but his acquaintance was large and he was generally respected.

From the opening of Harvard in 1636 the members of the different classes had been arranged in the Catalogue, not alphabetically as to-day, but in the order of their social position in the community. On

this basis Phillips was assigned to the eighth place; but at a meeting of the Tutors of the college, held on August 18, 1769, Esquire Phillips entered a protest against this ruling and succeeded in proving his case. Accordingly Samuel Phillips, Jr., was at once promoted to seventh place, ahead of a young man named Murray, and the father's rank was thereby vindicated. On the following evening the son wrote in his Journal: —

> Came to Cambridge Wednesday, and found I was put with Osgood in chamber No. 26, Hollis Hall; very good chamber. This afternoon I received a copy of a vote wherein I was ordered to sit between Vassal and Murray; it occasions considerable talk. Some say I bought it, others I have tried for it; but promotion always breeds enemies, and envious ones are the most spiteful; let me be interested in the Lord, and no matter who is against me.

His father, in corresponding with his son about the affair, showed the tenacious spirit of the family: —

> The eyes of all above and below you will be upon you, and I wish it might be that you could be at home till the talk about the change was a little over. Every word, action, and even your countenance will be watched, particularly by those that envy you. Keep as much retired as possible, waive all conversation about it. If you need councel consult Mr. Eliot about it privately, and keep his advice to yourself. Treat Murray with kindness, but *by no means give the most distant hint of yielding your place.*

It would be hard to acquit either member of the family of a little worldly pride in the happy conclusion of this episode. One fortunate result was a vote by the Board of Overseers that "for the future the

practice should be laid aside, and that the names of the scholars in each class should be placed in alphabetical order."

During the greater part of his college course Phillips kept a diary, which is full of despondency and self-depreciation. The morbid introspection which it reveals is not unlike that so faithfully recorded in the writings of John Bunyan. Phillips repeatedly laments his waste of valuable minutes; he seldom examines his conduct without reproaching himself for having fallen short of his high ideals. Some entries during his Sophomore year illustrate his state of mind: —

August 28, 1768: — I am now beginning another week; may I be enabled to perform in the best manner (for a frail creature) my duty to God, my fellow-creatures, and myself.

March 25, 1769: — Last Monday evening was observed here as the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act; but the fatigue that I experienced therefor is folly; I have misspent a vast deal of precious time.

August 19, 1769: — I have spent this vacancy very differently from my purpose; made no addition to my little stock of knowledge, only gained a little farther knowledge of the world.

December 9, 1769: — Many valuable thoughts are gone entirely, for want of proper care to lay them up or fix them in the noble repository of the soul.

Phillips never really outgrew this habit of self-criticism, and even in mature life he could not refrain from condemning himself for faults which to any less sensitive conscience would have seemed trivial.

But events were taking place which were to draw the young man away from petty personal matters into

the whirlpool of larger and more vital issues. The Townshend Acts of 1767 had aroused protests throughout Massachusetts. British troops were landing in Boston. In 1770 the house of Chief Justice Hutchinson was sacked by an angry mob, and on March 5 of the same year occurred the Boston Massacre, with all its attendant and ensuing excitement. Many incidents of that crucial period were driven home to the Harvard undergraduates. In 1769 the General Court, alarmed by the continued presence of British regulars in the capital, adjourned to Cambridge, and held sessions in the college chapel. Passions ran high in the student body. The class of 1769 voted unanimously "to take their degrees in the manufactures of the country." A letter from the Reverend Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis in London describes the temper of the young collegians: —

> The removal of the General Court to Cambridge hinders the scholars in their studies. The young gentlemen are already taken up with politics. They have caught the spirit of the times. Their declamations and forensic disputes breathe the spirit of liberty. This has always been encouraged, but they have sometimes been wrought up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that it has been difficult for their tutors to keep them within due bounds; but their tutors are fearful of giving too great a check to a disposition which may, hereafter, fill the country with patriots, and choose to leave it to age and experience to check their ardor.

That Samuel Phillips, Jr., was one of those "taken up with politics" is indicated by an oration on *Liberty*, written at about this period, in which he praises Brutus and Rienzi. One passage reads as follows: —

Let this truth be indelibly engraved on our breasts, that we cannot be happy without we are free, and may it have a desirable effect. The cause requires our utmost vigilance; we should watch against every encroachment, and with all the fortitude of *calm, intrepid resolution* oppose them, lest the burden should become too great, or from length of time acquire such a force that the difficulty will become insurmountable. It is a matter of very great importance. The consequences will not only be great, but very lasting. Unborn generations will either bless us for our activity and magnanimity, or curse us for our sloth and pusillanimity.

The momentous issues at stake during these years while he was at Harvard are discussed in Phillips's Journal with a detail and a vigor which prove his absorbing interest in the threatened crisis of England's colonial affairs. Unlike his conservative father and his loyalist uncle John, he was heartily in sympathy with even the most radical of revolutionary measures. One who knew him at this time said of Phillips: "I never saw him so much interested in anything else, as he was in the Revolution, unless it was the Academy."

Among his fellows, meanwhile, Phillips had won his way to a place of recognized leadership, not only in scholarship, but also in the other phases of collegiate life. He was, for instance, "either a founder or a leading member of three select associations, devoted to scientific or patriotic pursuits." One of these was the well-known Institute of 1770, still in existence. His connection with religious organizations gave him a name for sincere and unostentatious piety. That he was not averse to a certain kind of conviv-

iality is shown by a letter to his father, May 27, 1771, in which he strives in a somewhat solemn fashion to convince that gentleman of the desirability of his giving a "spread" during the Commencement exercises.

Samuel Phillips, Jr., was only nineteen when he received his Bachelor's degree as a member of the class of 1771. A Salutatory Oration in Latin, apparently delivered on the Commencement platform, is still preserved, in a portion of which he pays compliments to President Holyoke, several of the Faculty, and Harvard College. The young man had unquestionably justified the expectations of his proud and critical father.

Esquire Phillips's satisfaction in his son's career was, however, to be somewhat dampened. While Samuel Phillips, Jr., was residing in Cambridge, he became intimately acquainted with Miss Phœbe Foxcroft, youngest daughter of the Honorable Francis Foxcroft, of that city. She was handsome, cultivated, and attractive, and belonged to an excellent family, in which she had received many social and educational advantages; but unfortunately she was nearly nine years older than her admirer, and Phillips's parents saw in this disparity an insuperable objection to the match. The argument that his uncle John of Exeter had taken for a wife a woman eighteen years his senior might have been used with effect by the nephew; but Esquire Phillips's consent was withheld, and, as a result, the young man, shortly after leaving Harvard, fell seriously ill. At a moment when his life was despaired of, he confided to his

physician that he was dying of disappointed hope far more than of the mere physical disease with which he was afflicted. The doctor interceded with the parents, who for once found themselves obliged to yield. The whole incident suggests that beneath a calm exterior Phillips concealed a strong and passionate nature.

Luckily the concession was not too late; the patient soon recovered, and, after a delay of two years, the marriage was celebrated in 1773. The two thus united were decidedly different in character: he was quiet, sedate, and economical; she was impulsive, lively, and extravagant. In every respect she seemed younger than he. The marriage proved to be exceedingly happy, and even Esquire Phillips had no reason to regret the approval wrung from him with so much difficulty. The younger Phillips was an adoring husband; indeed, on one occasion, in 1785, he observed the twelfth anniversary of their wedding by presenting her with a copy of some verses attributed to Benjamin Franklin, a few stanzas of which may well be quoted:—

Of their Chloes and Phillises poets may prate,
I sing my plain country Joan,
Now twelve years my wife, still the Joy of my Life,
Blest day when I made her my own.

In peace and good order my Household she keeps,
Right careful to save what I gain;
Yet cheerfully spends, and smiles on the friends
I've the pleasure to entertain.

Am I laden with care, she takes off a large share
That the Burden ne'er makes me to reel;

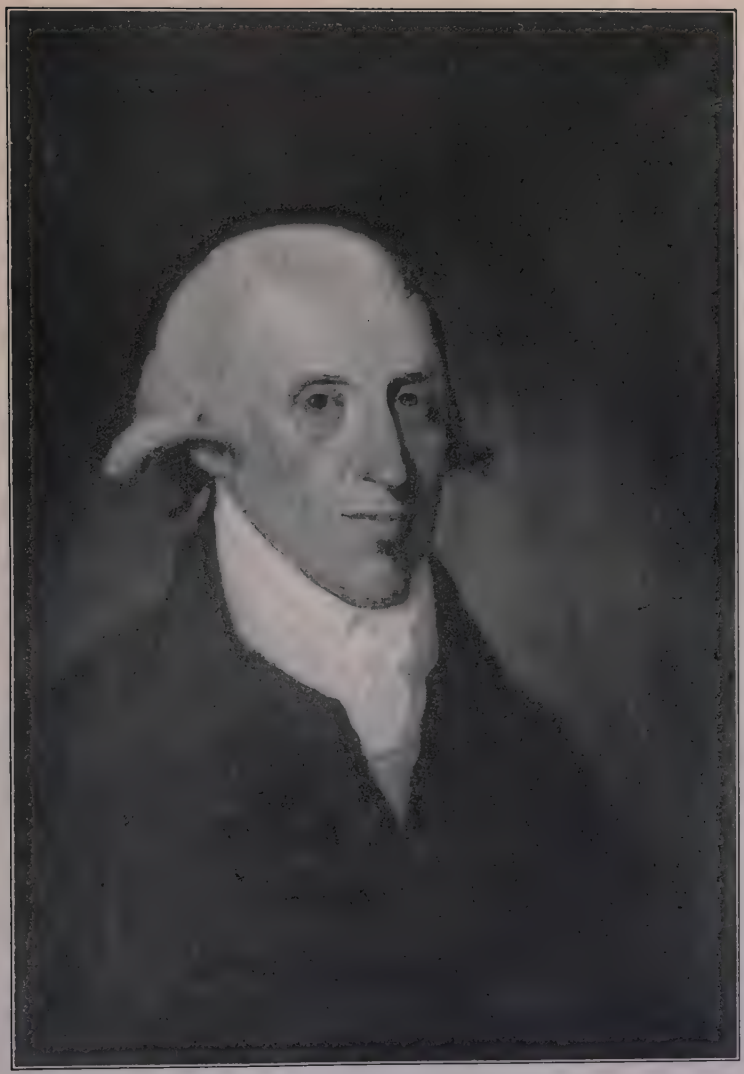
Does good fortune arrive, the joy of my wife,
Quite doubles the pleasure I feel.

Was the fairest young princess with millions in purse
To be had in exchange for my Joan,
She cou'd not be a better wife, might be a worse, —
I'll cling to my lovely old Joan.

The couple had two children: John Phillips, born August 18, 1776, who inherited the Phillips Mansion in North Andover; and Samuel Phillips, born in 1782, who died of a fever when he was only fourteen years old. Madame Phillips survived her husband by ten years. At her death Eliphalet Pearson, in speaking of her and her husband, paid them a deserved tribute: —

Of them both it may be said that their hearts were not more united by mutual esteem and affection, than by acts of charity and munificence.

Only three months before his wedding Samuel Phillips, Jr., had been elected Town Clerk and Treasurer of Andover in place of his father, and his talent in administrative and deliberate business soon brought him into prominence. It must be remembered that he lived literally in "times that tried men's souls." He may have been too young to hear of Braddock's defeat, but he could understand Wolfe's glorious victory at Quebec and he knew the significance of the Peace of Paris (1763), which gave England control of North America. In college he had watched with sympathy the growing disaffection of the patriotic party; and now as a leader in town affairs he was to have a chance to turn his rhetorical phrases about liberty into practical action. Early in



JUDGE SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Jr.

1774 he headed a town committee appointed to draw up a series of resolutions, which closed with the following emphatic declaration of the colonial temper: —

> Resolved, that no person in this town, who has heretofore been concerned in vending tea, or any other person, may on any pretence whatever, either sell himself, or be in any way accessory to selling any tea of foreign importation, while it remains burdened with a duty, under penalty of incurring the town's displeasure.

When he was only twenty-three years old, his townspeople chose him as a delegate to the Provincial Congress which assembled at Watertown on July 19, 1775. During the four stormy sessions of that body, lasting until May 10, 1776, Phillips not only made a reputation as a persuasive speaker, but also served on many important committees, including one deputed to confer with General Washington on military matters connected with the siege of Boston. Of this assembly, which was attended by such distinguished patriots as Samuel Adams and John Hancock, Phillips was one of the most influential members. A competent critic said of him: —

> His speeches were clear, concise, logical, direct, and nervous; but he made no effort to amuse the fancy, and never sacrificed anything to mere rhetoric.

He spent many hours in discussing the then inevitable conflict, in seeking to secure loans for the colonial government, and in doing his utmost to arouse and sustain enthusiasm for the cause. He was appointed Chairman of a committee for moving the books in the Harvard Library to safer situations in Andover and

other inland towns; and on June 17, 1775, the day of Bunker Hill, he wrote in a hasty note to his wife: —

> Amid all the terrors of Battle I was so busily engag'd in Harvard Library, that I never even heard of the engagement, — I mean the siege (but don't speak of it) till it was complete.

Many of the books then packed by Phillips were carted over the road to "the house of George Abbot, Esq.," in Andover, the building which was soon to be Phillips's temporary home.

Although Samuel Phillips, Jr., saw no actual service in the army, he accomplished much in a very practical way by providing a supply of ammunition for the troops. From the noise of the first shot at Concord Bridge the colonists had been hampered in their military operations by a scarcity of powder. At Bunker Hill the defenders of the fortifications had been obliged to retreat solely because ammunition was lacking. General Israel Putnam cried in vain, "Powder, powder, ye gods, give us powder!" On July 3, 1775, General George Washington assumed command of the forces in front of Boston, and made plans for a vigorous investment of the city. It shortly became evident, however, that there was on hand only enough powder for some nine or ten rounds to a man, and letters were immediately dispatched to the other colonies asking for aid. Under the strain of these annoyances Washington wrote to Congress: —

> It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of

the enemy for six months together without ammunition . . . is more, probably, than was ever attempted.

Meanwhile the General Court at Watertown was demanding from the various towns their quota of powder, and considering plans for the construction of powder-mills. The first definite move was taken on January 3, 1776, when Samuel Phillips, Jr., proposed, with sufficient encouragement from the Commonwealth, to build a powder-mill at Andover at his own expense. On January 8 the Court voted its sanction, agreeing to supply him with sulphur and saltpeter for a year at cost, and to pay him a bounty of eightpence a pound for all his product; he, in turn, promised "to keep a good and sufficient guard about the mill." At once Phillips left his legislative duties, hastened to Andover, and, after securing a mill-site on the Shawsheen River, near the present Marland Village, called an informal meeting of his neighbors and explained his project. "I want your help," he said, "and I will undertake to pay you if the business prospers; but if it fails, you must consent to lose your labor and your time." Not a man hesitated, and, despite the severe winter weather, they began the next day to dig the mill-race, Phillips himself handling a pick and shovel with the others. Meanwhile his boyhood friend, Eliphalet Pearson, who was then settled in Andover, was carrying on the necessary experiments. Day after day he toiled patiently, testing various kinds of nitrous earths, and covering the desks in the town grammar school with pans of chemicals while he occupied himself with formulas. To secure heat he even took one of the stoves from the Old South

meeting-house. At one time he feared that he might lose his eyesight from the effects of the poisonous fumes. At last, after thirteen successive tests, covering more than twenty-four hours, he was rewarded by a satisfactory reaction, so that by May 10, 1776, the mill was prepared to begin deliveries of powder. Before this date, on March 17, General Howe had evacuated Boston, and the immediate danger for Massachusetts was over; but the plant continued to furnish ammunition to the American forces during the remaining years of the war. Many British prisoners were employed in the mill, some of whom, according to Phillips, "had married, had children, taken the oath of allegiance, paid taxes, and become useful members of society." At critical times the workmen labored day and night, Sundays included, and when the supply of saltpeter gave out, they tore up the floors of old sheds and barns in quest of the precious earth. In 1778 a serious explosion destroyed a portion of the plant, and killed three employees. This disaster caused so much consternation in the town that operations were for a brief period suspended. The General Court, however, granted Phillips the sum of four hundred pounds as a recompense for his losses, and the business continued although the owner gradually began to transform the plant into a paper-mill. Even after Yorktown, powder was made at a profit to Judge Phillips; but a second explosion on October 19, 1796, in which two men were killed, led him to abandon the enterprise and to devote his attention to manufacturing paper. This paper business was retained in the family until 1820, when, with

the death of Colonel John Phillips, it passed into other hands.

It was during this period, when the powder mill was being projected and the British army was being driven from Massachusetts shores, that Phillips and Pearson were associated in a plan for the founding of a school. The story of the inception and establishment of Phillips Academy will be related in another chapter; but it is worth remembering, as an illustration of both his versatility and his courage, that, in the midst of a busy political and business life, when only a small number of patriots had any real confidence in the future of the new government, Samuel Phillips, Jr., did not hesitate to lay the cornerstone of an enduring national institution.

During the first four years after their marriage Phillips and his wife lived in the North Parish: for a time in the family mansion of Esquire Phillips, and later in "a little old house beyond that residence." In the spring of 1777, after the transfer of part of the estate of George Abbot in the South Parish to Esquire Phillips had been effected, the younger Phillips, at his father's request, moved into the old Abbot house. In this dwelling, which until 1889 stood on the north side of Phillips Street west of the site of the Latin Commons, the Constitution of Phillips Academy was signed and the early meetings of the Trustees were held. Later it was used in turn as a residence for the first three principals of the school, Pearson, Pemberton, and Newman. Indeed it was in order to make room for Pearson that Phillips, in April, 1780, moved out, and found another tempo-

rary home in "a little red house on the Woburn Road," [1] the title to which he purchased from the "widow Chandler." He lived here for two years; here his wife's mother, Mrs. Foxcroft, died, and here too his second son, Samuel, was born.

Meanwhile Phillips, prosperous in business, was planning a house more suited to his rank and station. In 1782 he deeded to the Trustees of Phillips Academy a piece of land comprising something over three acres on the southwest corner of the present main campus, and received in exchange nearly two acres on the opposite, or west side of the Boston-Woburn Road. There he soon began work on his new home. The construction of this mansion, the largest and finest built up to that time in Andover, caused widespread excitement in the vicinity. The frame, made of choice New Hampshire lumber, was raised in sections, and, when it was put up, stores and schools were closed, and men, women, and children assembled in the early morning on the training-field in front of the stone foundations. That stalwart veteran, the Reverend Jonathan French, then offered prayer, and everybody seized "ropes and pikes" to hoist the scaffolding into place. Cheer upon cheer rang out as the final successful pull was taken, and the weary laborers sought refreshment in tubs of punch provided by the thoughtful owner. By December, 1782, Phillips and his family were able to settle in the Mansion House,

[1] This house was later remodeled and occupied for many years by Moses Abbot, Judge Phillips's confidential clerk. It is now owned by Mr. Fred Berry, but it has been painted white, and has been so much renovated as to make it hardly recognizable to old Andoverians.

THE OLD ABBOT HOUSE ON PHILLIPS STREET

THE PHILLIPS MANSION HOUSE, ANDOVER

although it was not entirely completed until the autumn of 1785.

When it was finished, it dominated the hill and the town like a baronial castle. The tale of its sixty-two windows was told the country round. Like many of the historic residences of Newburyport and Salem it had three stories with large square rooms, broad open fireplaces, wide window-seats, fine paneling and wainscoting, and ponderous doors on massive hinges. The key, still preserved in the Phillips Club, is of enormous size and weight, comparable to that which unlocked the gates of the Bastille. The doors and windows, nevertheless, were never barred except with a wooden catch, and Judge Phillips was host to nearly every passing traveler. As he rose to be a prominent figure in the State his home became more and more a center of generous hospitality; there several grandnephews of General Washington found lodging while they attended Phillips Academy; and there Washington himself, an old friend of Phillips, was entertained on his visit to Andover in 1789.

On September 1, 1779, when the Phillips School had been open over a year, Samuel Phillips, Jr., met in Cambridge with three hundred others as one of four delegates from Andover to the State Constitutional Convention. After the organization had been perfected, he was chosen by ballot as one of a committee of thirty-one members to prepare a "Frame of a Constitution and Declaration of Rights" to be submitted to the convention and later to the people. A second session was held during the memorable "hard winter" of 1780, and a few months later the new

Constitution was adopted by a vote of two thirds of the citizens of Massachusetts. During the debates on crucial matters connected with drafting and revision of this Constitution Phillips took a leading part.

At the first election held under the state organization in September, 1780, Phillips was elected a member of the Senate, in which body he served, one year excepted, until 1801. In 1781, despite the fact that he had had no formal legal training, he was appointed by Governor John Hancock as one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, and entered upon his duties as judge in Newburyport, September 25 in that year. In this office, the duties of which took up from three to four months of each year, he did faithful work until his resignation in 1798.

For the first five years of the newly formed government, Samuel Adams was annually elected President of the Massachusetts Senate; but in 1785 he declined the honor, and Judge Phillips was chosen to fill the place. In this position, we are told, "he was distinguished by his punctuality and assiduity," and earned the title of "the Nestor of the Senate." He marched at the head of the upper house when the Legislature walked in procession from the old State House on State Street to the new one on Beacon Hill.

In 1787, with General Lincoln and Samuel Otis, then President of the House of Representatives, he was appointed on a Board of Commissioners to treat with the disaffected citizens who had engaged in the notorious Shays's Rebellion in western Massachusetts, and, after spending more than a month in the disturbed counties, he was able, in his report of

April 27, 1787, to state that seven hundred and ninety persons had subscribed to a confession of penitence for their misconduct. While thus absent on official business Judge Phillips, because of some hostile feeling stirred up against him, lost the nomination for Senator; in the following autumn, however, he was reinstated by his townsmen, and resumed his seat as presiding officer. In 1798, when a quarrel with the French Government seemed imminent, he acted as Chairman of an Andover committee which proffered support to President Adams, and he even prepared to arm as a volunteer in case of war. In 1801 his career was crowned by his election as Lieutenant-Governor on the Federalist ticket, the Governor being the Honorable Caleb Strong.

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For some years, however, his health had been gradually failing. Although he was still comparatively young, he suffered from asthma, for the cure of which he had resorted to quack medicines prescribed by a physician unworthy of his confidence. Often for many nights in succession he was unable to get even an hour's sleep. In the summer of 1801 he made one last effort to regain his health by taking a journey, with Madame Phillips and Dr. Pearson, through the Berkshire Hills to the Hudson, but the outing brought him no relief. He had hardly undertaken his responsibilities as Lieutenant-Governor when, on Wednesday, February 10, 1802, the end came. On February 16 he was buried in the family tomb in the cemetery of the South Church.

In personal appearance Judge Phillips was tall and slender, with an erect and dignified bearing. His

manners are said to have been "a happy combination of simplicity and refinement." Temperamentally he was calm and equable, and never seemed to be in a hurry. Even in critical situations he preserved his equanimity, and his coolness in times of danger was reassuring to his friends.

A circular prepared shortly after Judge Phillips's death mentions with emphasis his patriotism in subordinating his private concerns to his public duties. This is unquestionably one of his chief merits; yet he was gifted with such an extraordinary versatility that he was able to occupy himself with several projects at once without neglecting any one. "His short life," says Knapp, "by order, exactness, and method, was filled with incredible attention to business." While holding many public trusts, he superintended two stores, one in Andover and the other in Methuen, managed a sawmill, a gristmill, a paper-mill, and a powder-mill, and conducted agricultural experiments on several estates. His power of accomplishment was due principally to the fact that he was methodical and systematic to a remarkable degree, taking the most careful pains with even comparatively minor matters of business. His mind was eminently practical; he was fond of simple maxims, and distrustful of theories. He was, moreover, a shrewd and economical manager, and, in spite of the steady drains upon his private resources, he left at his death a fortune of over $150,000, exclusive of Madame Phillips's portion.

Many interests of a less personal kind made heavy demands on his time. His political prominence

brought him in contact with a large number of people who wished to consult him upon important affairs, and to whom he was obliged to devote many weary hours. His public correspondence during the last twenty years of his life was exceedingly burdensome, especially so because he insisted on attending to most of it personally. After 1778 he took pleasure in watching the progress of Phillips Academy, and kept most of the records in his own hand. He attended with regularity the meetings of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and delivered several addresses at Cambridge on public occasions. In 1793, while his son John was an undergraduate, Judge Phillips was honored by Harvard with the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was a charter member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, incorporated May 4, 1780. A mere statement of the different fields in which he was active is sufficient to show him to have been a man of unusual energy.

In his family life, so far as he was able to enjoy it, Judge Phillips was very happy. Although he believed in simple living and disliked luxury and ostentation, he was a generous host and was fond of entertaining guests in his home. During his lifetime, as later during that of Madame Phillips, the Trustees of the Academy were always welcome at the Mansion House. His household was usually large, for he permitted several students from the school to have rooms with him, and he was seldom so busy that he could not snatch a few minutes to question them about their courses of study or their conduct in the classroom. With his family as with his friends Judge

Phillips rarely unbent. The children were taught to speak to their elders with the utmost deference; and romping and "unseemly levity" were put down with a firm hand. Nevertheless, he was affectionate; he sobbed over his child's grave, and for years after preserved the boy's room intact, leaving the clothes and shoes, the little slate, and the half-burned candle just as they were.

Judge Phillips was never an effusive man. He seldom addressed his wife in a letter except by the title "My dear Friend," and his sons always wrote to him as "Honored Sir." Of Madame Phillips, however, he was exceedingly thoughtful. He took especial care to see that she had trained servants at her disposal. So far as domestic management was concerned, she relieved him of all worry. Indeed during his frequent absences from Andover she conducted his business affairs; she acted as his agent in financial matters; and for several years she kept in her own hand his records as Town Clerk. Their attachment was close but dignified, and each treated the other with elaborate courtesy, even in the privacy of their home.

Judge Phillips was so often occupied in Boston and other cities that he was rarely able to get an uninterrupted week with his family. In the course of a year he sometimes made over seventy trips to the capital on horseback, often at night and under conditions that exposed him to the most inclement weather. He sometimes slept in the saddle and lost his way in the darkness along the lonely roads. In 1794, while on one of these rides, he fell from his

horse and fractured his leg so badly that he had to be carried to the house of his friend, Mr. Brooks, in Medford. After this accident, which confined him for several weeks to his bed, he was more careful about his health; but the early hardships which he endured undoubtedly hastened his end.

It hardly needs to be said that Judge Phillips was a stanch supporter of the church. Mainly through his efforts the Reverend Jonathan French, his classmate at Harvard, came to Andover in 1772 to take the pulpit just vacated by the death of the Reverend Samuel Phillips; and for years French and his friend coöperated in their endeavor to strengthen the Old South Parish. In 1787 Judge Phillips was Chairman of a committee appointed to plan the erection of a new meeting-house. Even after his health was impaired he kept up a practice of which he was fond — that of reading to the congregation on Sunday noon between the two church services. In his will he bequeathed to the church a silver flagon, adding with it the hope "that the laudable practice of reading in the house of public worship between services may be continued so long as even a small number shall be disposed to attend the exercise."

In his theology Judge Phillips was a follower of Jonathan Edwards, but he was inclined to mitigate the extreme Calvinist doctrines by a reasonable tolerance. In connection with this subject Judge Daniel Appleton White once told an interesting story. As a senior at Harvard he had accepted a position as assistant in Phillips Academy. In his Commencement essay, however, when Judge Phillips

was on the platform with other notabilities, White delivered a sentence in which he implied a disbelief in the dogma of human depravity. When the exercises were over, Judge Phillips told the orator that, if he desired, he might be released from his Andover engagement. The hint was sufficient, and White turned to another profession. Judge Phillips's favorite theologian was the nonconformist Doddridge, whose books he read and re-read — especially the famous *Plain and Serious Address to the Master of a Family on the Subject of Family Religion* (1749).

On the new Phillips Gateway in Andover the inscription chosen as typical of Judge Phillips is a sentence from one of his letters to his son: "Be more covetous of your hours than misers are of gold." With him the saving of time became almost a mania, and he continually admonished his children to allow no moment to be wasted in idleness or vain pleasure. "Bar your doors, and secure your eyes, your ears, and your heart against all who would rob you of your treasure; I mean your *time*," he writes; and again, "Make it your invariable rule, not to defer any duty till the next hour or moment, which can be performed in the present; a religious observation of this rule will be of immense advantage to you through life." It was adherence to this principle, "Do it now," that made it possible for him to crowd so much into his short span of fifty years. In the same spirit he was punctilious in meeting engagements and accurate in his language upon every occasion. His letters are usually interlined with corrections, intended to make each phrase clear. The Constitution of Phillips

Academy, mainly his work, was revised with the most scrupulous care.

For a man so uniformly successful in his projects Judge Phillips was singularly modest. In all sincerity he belittled his own achievements, and regretted what he honestly thought to be his inability to do more for his community and country. His standard was invariably so high that he could not help at times failing to attain it; under such circumstances the consequent dejection was almost a form of mental disease. On January 22, 1795, he wrote to Madame Phillips: —

> In the early part of life I fondly pleased myself with the expectation that I should do some good and communicate some happiness to others. How strangely have I been disappointed! I daily feel more and more my own unhappiness, and am ready to think sometimes the world will be glad when they get rid of me.

Two years later he said in a letter written on his birthday: —

> Forty and five years of my pilgrimage are now completed, and to very little purpose, either for the honor of my Maker or the benefit of mankind; consequently I have hardly learned the true end of living.

This he penned at a time when the school which he had founded was flourishing, when for years he had devoted himself to patriotic service, and when, through genuine merit, he had been rewarded by the admiration of all who knew him.

It was impossible for Judge Phillips to take life and its responsibilities lightly. His habitual expression was somber, and his grave manner often deepened

into despondency. Although he was usually cheerful with his companions, he had little sense of humor. Not a single jest of his is recorded. Seldom in his papers do we meet with any sign of interest in art, *belles-lettres*, or music. To say that he was occupied with business of a more practical kind is not to condemn him. Judge Phillips had the inherited tendencies of several generations of Puritan ancestors, who, while facing privations and laboring under fearful disadvantages for their daily bread, had found no opportunity for pleasure as an end in itself. To a man who had bandaged the wounds received at Bunker Hill and had visited Washington's army before Boston, life presented itself, not as a playground but as a battle-field, where he must endure grimly with his comrades. So it was that, although a man of practical affairs, he grew also to be a moralist, with something of the stern philosophy of Marcus Aurelius.

In the final analysis it was in personal character that Judge Phillips was most distinguished above his fellows. We cannot think of him as intellectually brilliant, for he was industrious and persevering rather than clever or quick; we cannot praise him for his charm of manner, for he was respected rather than loved; but we cannot help being impressed by his sincere piety and his unswerving faithfulness to duty. Judge Phillips was a thoroughly religious man who believed in living up to his ideals. Professor John L. Taylor, his biographer, said of him: —

> We have not been able to discover a trait or an incident in his career, which has not seemed to us the product of his religion more than of anything else.

His letters to his wife and children are full of a confident trust in God and a frank reliance on the efficacy of prayer. He often gave his elder son, John, advice which might easily in some men be mistaken for cant; but with him it was natural expression of a conscientious father, seriously concerned over the spiritual welfare of his child. Dr. Dwight once said of him, "A species of ethical cast marked his conversation and life, and distinguished him from all other men whom I have known."

Such, then, was the man who, more than any other, moulded Phillips Academy. What he aimed at in his private and public life he naturally wished to impress upon the boys in his school. Phillips Academy for many years preserved unchanged the traditions which he left for it; indeed, it still maintains them today, although in a form somewhat modified to meet conditions of which the Founders never dreamed. It can still be said that no finer type of manhood can be held up as a model to Andover students than that of Judge Phillips himself.

After her husband's death Madame Phœbe Phillips continued for some years to reside in the Mansion House and to keep the doors hospitably open; but partly through some unfortunate investments made by her son, Colonel John Phillips, and partly because of an injudicious excess of generosity towards the Andover Theological Seminary, her property so diminished that she was glad in 1810 to accept an invitation from Esquire Farrar to make a home with him in his new house on the corner of Main and Phillips Streets. There she died in 1812, and her funeral

sermon was preached by that old family friend, Dr. Pearson.

Madame Phillips was a dignified and self-reliant woman with a religious faith equal to that of her husband. In her nature also was an element of poetry and romance which was lacking in Judge Phillips's more practical character and which made her an admirable complement to him. A notice of her in a newspaper shortly after her death recalls her kindness to those in distress: —

> During the dark period of the Revolution, she sat up until midnight with the females of the household, to make garments for poor, destitute soldiers, and in scraping lint and cutting bandages for the hospitals. The sick in her neighborhood of all classes were inquired after, and everything that could administer to their comfort was sent from her hospitable mansion. The Academy, founded by her husband's father and uncle, was in the immediate vicinity of her residence, and every pupil's health was the subject of her attention; and to those who had come from a distance, and had no natural guardian near, she acted the part of a parent at all times.

Through countless

> Little nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love.

she endeared herself to others, and sustained her husband's reputation for generous giving.

The only surviving son, John Phillips, born August 18, 1776, made a brilliant record at Harvard College, graduating in 1795 with the rank of Latin Salutatorian. After serving for a few months as assistant in Phillips Academy, he began, in the

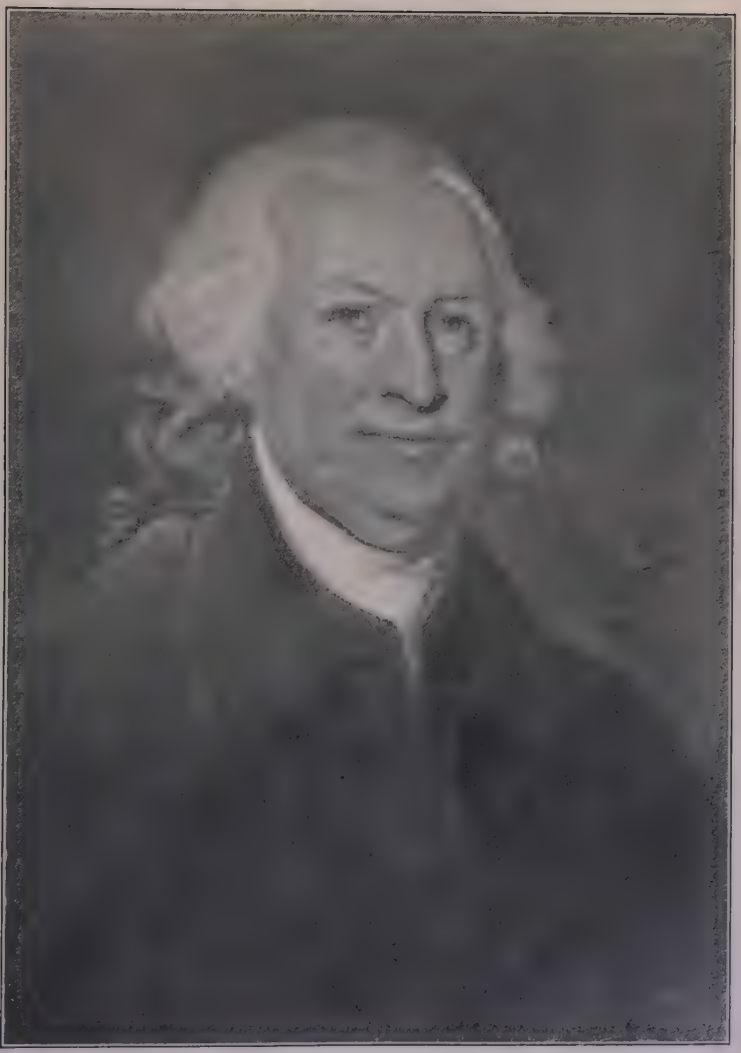
autumn of 1796, to study law at Charlestown. His constitution, like his father's, was not naturally robust, and continued overstudy so injured his health that he was obliged to abandon legal pursuits and to devote himself to business. On December 22, 1798, he married Lydia Gorham, daughter of the Honorable Nathaniel Gorham. A few years later he returned with his family to the Phillips Mansion in North Andover, where he resided until his death, September 10, 1820. He left ten daughters [1] and three sons. His widow, who survived until June 3, 1856, is well remembered by several persons now living.

Colonel John Phillips, as he was commonly called in recognition of his rank as aide-de-camp to Governor Strong, inherited much of his father's ability, but was hampered constantly by ill health. He was elected a State Senator from Essex County, but gained no further political honors. As a speaker he acquired a considerable reputation, and was invited to make many public addresses. His spirit was generous even to a fault; indeed, his gifts to Andover Theological Seminary are generally believed to have ruined the family fortune and to have reduced his mother from affluence to comparative poverty.

More than a word must be added concerning the other members of the family who assisted materially

[1] One daughter, Mary Ann (born March 17, 1808), married in 1833 William Gray Brooks, a Boston merchant, and was the mother of Bishop Phillips Brooks. Her son, William Gray Brooks (born July 2, 1834), left daughters who still live in the Phillips Mansion. Three daughters of Colonel John Phillips, — Sarah (born February 18, 1807), Susan (born March 5, 1809), and Caroline (born August 3, 1810), — all maiden ladies, died within a few days of each other at North Andover in the spring of 1883.

in making Phillips Academy a reality. Its most generous early benefactor, from a financial standpoint, was John Phillips, of Exeter, the second son of the Reverend Samuel Phillips. Born in Andover, December 27, 1719, he was a precocious child, so fond of learning that he entered Harvard College before he was twelve, and graduated with distinction in 1735. For a brief period he taught school in Andover, while pursuing intermittently studies in medicine and theology. Although he had a slight weakness of the lungs, he had a desire to become a clergyman, and it is reported that he did actually preach on occasions in Exeter and several surrounding towns; but after hearing the duties of a minister described by the eloquent evangelist, George Whitefield, he so distrusted his own ability that he renounced all hope of continuing as a preacher. We know that he was taxed in Exeter in 1740; and it is said that in 1741 he opened there a "private classical school." It is certain that, on August 4, 1743, he married Mrs. Sarah (Emery) Gilman, who had inherited from her recently deceased husband, "Gentleman Nat," a fortune of something over eight thousand pounds. The fact that Phillips had first proposed to the daughter, Tabitha, but, on being refused, found solace with the mother, is interesting gossip; however, although his bride was forty-one when he was only twenty-three, this discrepancy in age did not apparently make the marriage an unhappy one. Aided by this addition to his resources, Phillips then became a merchant, and, through the industry and frugality so characteristic of his family, succeeded in accumulating a large fortune. After the



Dr. JOHN PHILLIPS OF EXETER

death of Mrs. Phillips on October 9, 1765, he married again on November 3, 1767, his second wife being Mrs. Elizabeth (Dennet) Hale, widow of Dr. Eliphalet Hale, of Exeter. He had no children.

In the years preceding the Revolution John Phillips held several positions of trust. In 1771, 1772, and 1773 he was a Representative from Exeter in the Provincial Assembly; from 1772 to 1775 he was a Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas; and he was chosen Colonel in 1772 of a select body of militia called the Exeter Cadets. When the war actually broke out, however, Phillips, whose sympathies, like those of more than one conservative man of property, were not altogether with the patriot party, resolved to keep aloof from the conflict. Withdrawing from business and resigning his various public offices, he took a position of avowed neutrality, and occupied himself with preserving the integrity of his investments. Some gifts to Dartmouth College, including the endowment of a professorship of theology, led that institution to make him a trustee, and in 1777 he was honored by the second degree of Doctor of Laws granted by the New Hampshire school. It was at this period that Dr. Phillips, after some correspondence with his nephew and heir, Samuel Phillips, Jr., agreed to lend his financial support to the latter's plans for Phillips Academy and gave for the purpose in the aggregate more than $30,000.

The school at Andover having been successfully launched, Dr. Phillips established at Exeter a similar academy, which was almost exclusively his own project and to which he gave nearly all his remaining

fortune. The Phillips Exeter Academy thus organized through his generosity was incorporated April 3, 1781, and opened May 1, 1783. At the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of the first principal, Mr. William Woodbridge, Dr. Phillips was present, but modestly took no part. Sixty years after his death the sum with which he had endowed this academy amounted to over $135,000. Of the Board of Trustees Dr. Phillips was, of course, the first President, and he was also President of the Andover Board from 1791 to 1794. At his death in Exeter, April 21, 1795, he bequeathed two thirds of the residue of his estate to the Phillips Exeter Academy and one third to the Phillips Academy at Andover. His last words were: "My work is done, I have settled all my affairs, and have now nothing to do but to die; it is no matter how soon."

Dr. Phillips, like others of his family, was not a companionable person, and was excessively ceremonious and formal in his manner. From every one he exacted deference; each schoolboy who passed him had to doff his hat, and each little girl to make her curtsy; indeed, it is said "that he would not give a boy a cherry from his trees unless the favor were asked with a low bow, and in the most reverent tone."

In many ways Dr. Phillips showed his fondness for petty economies. With true New England thrift he soaked the back-logs for his fireplace in water overnight. When his household was assembled for evening prayers and the chapter had been read, he always extinguished the candle before the long prayer. It could easily be relighted at the open fire when the

benediction had been spoken. What his careful management enabled him to amass, however, he disbursed most freely for worthy causes. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, in an address at Exeter, once said: —

> Our Founder probably never wasted a cent in self-indulgence, but he had all along this great plan maturing. He was the greatest public benefactor, as regards pecuniary amount, in the whole of the eighteenth century.

Like all his kinsmen he had much practical wisdom and common sense, and his gifts were placed where it seemed they would do the most good. President William J. Tucker, of Dartmouth College, speaking in 1903, placed Dr. Phillips "among that rare group of men who have in them the element of futurity in their thinking and in their action." "I suppose," continued Dr. Tucker, "that if we had sat at his table or gone into his house, we should have seen some signs of frugality and economy to which we should be rather strange, but the man was doing something all the while and paying the cost of it. He did the great thing, he earned it, and it is his for ever more."

Of Dr. Phillips's private life we have few intimate details. Josiah Quincy in his recollections says: —

> About the year 1785 I visited him at Exeter, with my mother, who was his niece. I spent three or four days there, and partook of his simple meals. I heard him at his family devotions. I shall never forget the patriarchal sweetness of his countenance, or the somewhat stern, yet not unattractive manner, in which he greeted and responded. He had an austere faith, softened by natural temperament and inherent kindliness of spirit.

It is evident that in religious matters he was

more tolerant than his brother, Esquire Phillips, and that he cared less for those subtleties of dogma which agitated so many theologians of his time. It was Dr. Phillips who said, "The logical conclusion of Religion is Education." Had it not been for his judicious saving and his subsequent lavish philanthropy the noble plan evolved in the brain of Judge Phillips might have gone the sad way of many another splendid vision. It is for this reason that the epitaph suggested for John Phillips by Dr. Eliphalet Pearson is eminently fitting: — "Without natural issue, he made posterity his heir."

There still remains to be mentioned the youngest of the three sons of the Reverend Samuel Phillips. William Phillips, born in Andover, July 6, 1722, did not, like his brothers, receive a college education, but was apprenticed at an early age to Edward Bromfield, a prosperous Boston merchant. In 1744, following out the career mapped out by tradition for industrious apprentices, he married his employer's eldest daughter, and, being made a partner in the firm, soon acquired a fortune. At different periods he was Representative from Boston in the General Court, a member of the Senate and of the Governor's Council, a delegate to the Convention for framing the State Constitution and to the Convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. He was one of the famous "Committee of Safety," chosen by the city of Boston, July 26, 1774, his associates being John and Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, and Josiah Quincy. He was one of the thirteen councillors rejected by General Gage

in 1774. Throughout the Revolutionary days he was a conspicuous and devoted patriot; he acted, for instance, on the committee which demanded of Governor Hutchinson that the British tea should be returned to London docks; and he went in person to Governor Gage to protest against the latter's arbitrary measures. When the war actually broke out, he moved with his family to Norwich, Connecticut, where he occupied the house in which Benedict Arnold was born; but he returned later and made his residence permanently in Boston.

Temperamentally William Phillips was inclined to be stern, and, in his declining years, decidedly irascible. Indeed, young Josiah Quincy, who was brought up in his grandfather's house, was sent away to school at the tender age of six, mainly because his pranks so exasperated the old gentleman. Nevertheless, William Phillips was a supporter of many charities, and made his home a center of hospitality. There Judge Phillips was accustomed to stay during his service in the General Court, and he found his uncle a cordial and thoughtful host.

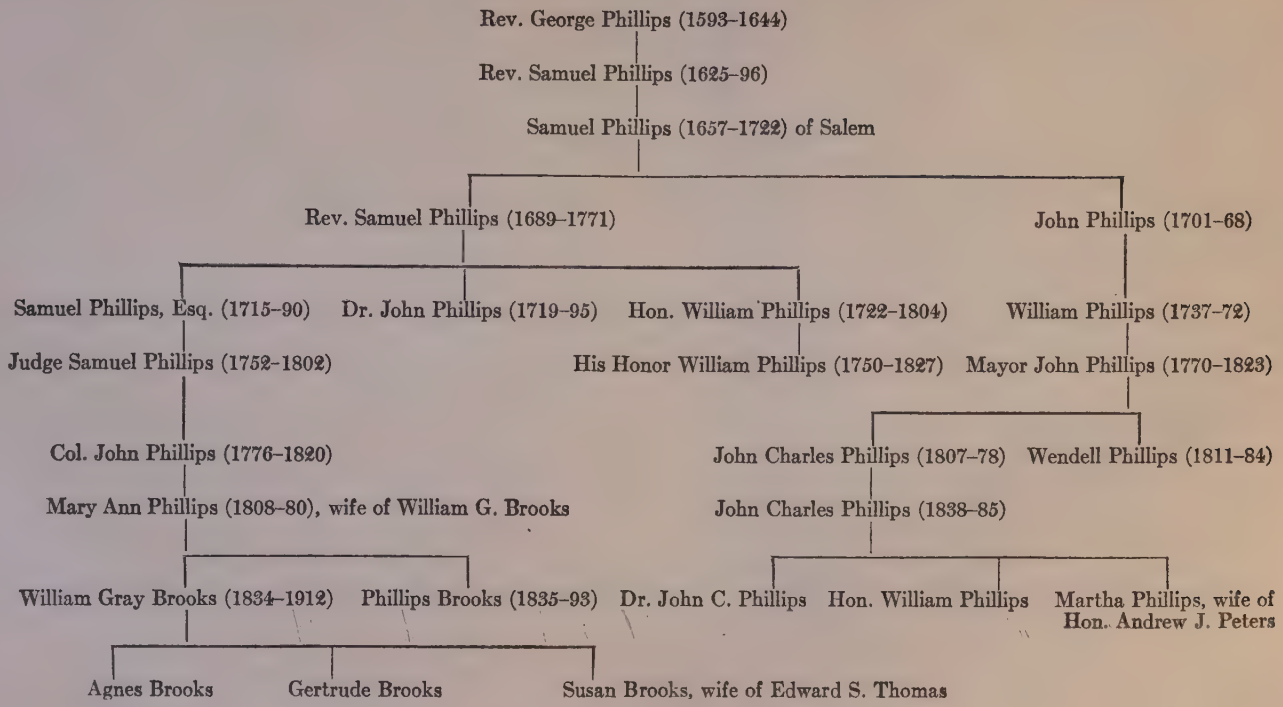
The Honorable William Phillips was not concerned in the founding of Phillips Academy, but he soon followed the salutary example set by his brothers and made liberal gifts to the school. He was a member of the Board of Trustees, and acted as President of that body from 1794 to 1796. He bore a third part of the expense for the second Academy building in 1786, and in his will he bequeathed to the institution the sum of $4000 as a fund for assisting poor students. He died January 15, 1804, leaving his fortune to his

son, His Honor William Phillips (1750–1827), who, in his turn, continued the generosity of his father towards Phillips Academy.

The attention devoted in this chapter to the various members of the Phillips family is entirely justified, for the Academy was essentially a family enterprise. In its origin, and throughout its early history, it was emphatically a *Phillips* school. When it is remembered that the funds for the founding of the Academy were provided by Esquire Samuel Phillips and Dr. John Phillips; that Judge Samuel Phillips was the projector and the chief author of the Constitution; that for more than thirty years members of the family were only too ready to meet deficiencies in the revenue and to contribute their time for investigating petty details; and finally that four of the original Board of twelve Trustees were Phillipses and that these four became in turn the first four Presidents of the Board, — when all these facts are considered, we realize to what an extent Phillips Academy, now a national school, began as a family enterprise and was supported and continued as a matter of family pride.

It is not often that a family preserves so consistently through so many consecutive generations a reputation for high character and stimulating leadership. The same fine qualities of honesty, industry, dignity, sagacity, and benevolence seem to have been handed down as a natural heritage from father to son. In this family, even after two centuries had passed, the distinctive elements of Puritanism persisted with but few modifications. Professor Channing once wrote: —

SOME MEMBERS OF THE PHILLIPS FAMILY


Rev. George Phillips (1593–1644)
Rev. Samuel Phillips (1625–96)
Samuel Phillips (1657–1722) of Salem
Rev. Samuel Phillips (1689–1771)
John Phillips (1701–68)
Samuel Phillips, Esq. (1715–90)
Dr. John Phillips (1719–95)
Hon. William Phillips (1722–1804)
William Phillips (1737–72)
Judge Samuel Phillips (1752–1802)
His Honor William Phillips (1750–1827)
Mayor John Phillips (1770–1823)
Col. John Phillips (1776–1820)
John Charles Phillips (1807–78)
Wendell Phillips (1811–84)
Mary Ann Phillips (1808–80), wife of William G. Brooks
John Charles Phillips (1838–85)
William Gray Brooks (1834–1912)
Phillips Brooks (1835–93)
Dr. John C. Phillips
Hon. William Phillips
Martha Phillips, wife of Hon. Andrew J. Peters
Agnes Brooks
Gertrude Brooks
Susan Brooks, wife of Edward S. Thomas

THE FOUNDERS

Seventeenth-century Puritanism was an attitude of mind rather than a system of theology, — it was idealism applied to the solution of contemporary problems.

The Founders of Phillips Academy were merely undertaking to give this idealism concrete form in the field of education. Phillips Academy, like Harvard College, was cradled and fostered in Puritanism. Phrases like those in the Constitution, "the great end and real business of living"; "knowledge without goodness is dangerous"; "the promotion of true Piety and Virtue,"— were to Judge Phillips not platitudes, but vital principles, which could not be stated too often. The personal sacrifice which the members of the Phillips family were willing to undergo in order to train the characters of young men is a striking practical outgrowth of that enlightened idealism which was the motive power for the whole Puritan movement in America.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDING OF A SCHOOL

PHILLIPS ACADEMY became the mother and pattern of that great number of secondary schools which have been planted all over the country; not that there were not secondary schools before, but they were established in almost every instance for the wants of a single community, while the Academy at Andover was planted like the college — for mankind.

WHEN and where the first dim conception of a school came to Samuel Phillips, Jr., we have no means of knowing. His family had always had a respect for learning, and some of them had gained practical experience as teachers. At a period during the interim between his graduation from Harvard and his powder-making venture he must have done some reading about educational systems as they worked out in operation. When he came to formulate guiding principles for his ideal school, he must have realized that there was on this side of the Atlantic no satisfactory model for him to follow. It is true, of course, that there were other schools in Massachusetts, some of them, like the Roxbury Latin School and the Boston Latin School, already notable for excellent instruction. Dummer School, where Phillips had spent some years, was a deliberate effort to put into application sound pedagogic methods, and it had, to some extent at least, blazed the path which other later schools were to follow. But Dummer School, controlled by a town or parish committee, also had its defects, of which no one could have been more aware

than the quiet, studious lad who sat under Master Moody, and who was able, young though he was, to make deductions from the facts as he observed them. No doubt Phillips was at first exceedingly vague as to what his aims should be; but he was soon thoroughly convinced that there was room for a school of a new type, broader in scope than any then in existence in the colonies.

Of the theoretical side of pedagogy Phillips probably found time to read a good deal. It is certain, as we shall see later, that he had studied carefully both Milton's *Essay on Education* and Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education;* he may also have had access to the famous treatises by Montaigne and Rousseau. The actual scheme, however, seems to have taken form out of free discussion and practical experience rather than from the speculations of theorists.

There is still preserved a manuscript covering seven pages of foolscap, without signature or address, but certainly in the handwriting of Samuel Phillips, Jr., which outlines his first crude conceptions of what the ideal Academy ought to be. It is dated "Monday morning at five o'clock," but otherwise there is nothing to indicate when it was written, except some slight internal evidence which suggests that it was composed in 1776. The document is hardly worth quoting in full; but a few passages have much significance: —

> Observations have been made upon the various irregularities which are daily appearing, the very frequent instances of the decay of virtue, public and private, the prevalence of public and private vice, the amazing change in the tempers, dispositions, and conduct of people in this

country within these thirty years. The trouble is owing to the neglect of good instruction. Upon the sound education of children depends the comfort or grief of parents, the welfare or disorder of the community, the glory or ruin of the state. The present public ignorance gives rise to a fear of events the most dreadful; what method then can be taken?

Let then a public building be erected for the purpose, and the children sent, be supported and continued there for a certain term, *say from the age of seven to fourteen.* One of the best of men can be found to take command, who shall proportion his attention to the various branches of education according to their importance, who shall make it his chief concern to see to the regulation of the *morals* of the pupils, and attentively and vigorously to guard them against the first dawnings of depraved nature. He shall instruct them in the several relations they sustain to God, their parents, the public, and their neighbors, and make their whole course of education one continued lecture on all that is great and good.

From such an institution as this what a surprising change might be reasonably expected. Instead of the present degeneracy which has increased upon us with such rapidity, what blessings may we not look for. We have more reason to hope for success from such labors than from those of *priest and magistrate* united. How great an advantage has the teacher in exerting his influence upon his pupils so early in life and keeping them away from bad examples, as was done in Mr. Moody's school, although it was attended with more difficulty there on account of *collections from every quarter* than it would be here. When we consider that this plan had such success among the ancients, what may we not expect from it when joined to the advantages of the Christian religion? Among the thirty to whom I have mentioned the plan, I have not heard one dissentient voice, but have received vastly higher approbation than I had reason to expect.

An objection naturally arises, as to the charge of supporting the scholars. *Very little, or no money will be required.* Let parents send that provision which their children would eat at home. The scholars can raise their vegetables in their own garden. As to their diet at noon, less meat by one third than is eaten at present would greatly conduce to their health; they would continue this diet, being once established, when they returned to their parents, and would influence their families if they ever had any.

By allowing the child his time in which to study at school, the parent gives the youth a far greater blessing than the small services of the latter would be at home; nay more, the parent will be paid pecuniarily, for when the son returns to his home well educated, his labor will be more profitable. The support of such a man as the place would demand (*and such a man we know of* who is admirably fitted for the sphere, and would exert himself in the cause) must be honorable; he might expect more than a minister's salary because his duty would be more arduous and his opportunity for service much greater. Must so glorious a plan fail for want of money, when there are so many to whom it would be a relief to part with some of it?

The somewhat amorphous and impracticable scheme thus presented has some interesting features. It will be noticed that Phillips already has his eye on Pearson as the right master for the new institution. The suggestion that a plot of farming-land should be reserved, where pupils could be taught the principles of agriculture and incidentally help to support themselves, was actually tried in Phillips Academy, and later in the Teachers' Seminary, not, however, with very satisfactory results. It is clear that Phillips is inclined to disapprove of Dummer School as being too democratic. The most significant passages are those

regarding the moral influence to be exerted by teachers upon the boys under them. On this subject Phillips laid increasing emphasis, as a letter, without date or signature, but apparently composed at about this period and sent to Eliphalet Pearson, seems to show: —

> The object in educating youth ought to be to qualify young persons as ornaments, as blessings, and as comforts in the vineyard of the Lord. Too much industry, too much personal ease and comfort, cannot be sacrificed in this matter. The whole success of your Seminary will depend upon an Instructor who is willing to do this. The industry of such a man will keep pace with the sun, and his wishes will always be reasonable. Give him a generous latitude, he will not abuse it. All his views will be to inspire his pupils with that knowledge which will influence them to remember their Creator in the days of their youth. My sentiments upon this subject are new, perhaps no one will fall in with them, yet I shall be unwilling to alter them without fair experiment. And I shall be so partial to myself as not to think a fair experiment has been made until an instructor is found that enters into the spirit of my feeling on this subject. The blessing such a man might be to posterity is unspeakable.

Although Phillips makes it evident that his primary interest is in the moral rather than in the mental side of education, he nevertheless was not without ideas as to the proper arrangement of the curriculum. In the letter just mentioned he expresses sentiments decidedly radical and heretical with regard to the classics: —

> I think our general plan of educating youth is injudicious, unnatural, and absurd. As soon as an infant is capa-

ble of muttering English, he is put to his accidence. In the Latin, youths fall back upon something that has been dead these hundred years and never will exist again, but if there were not a fragment of the language remaining, it would not exclude us from heaven. In it they study months without one new idea, and yet it has a great tendency to make the little ignorant scholar a pedant, if he can throw out one Latin word, though he knows no more of its signification than a parrot. — The Latin authors were pagans, and their works all contain more or less of the foolish and stupid religion of their times. I think they ought not to be read until a person is established in our pure and holy religion. It is a pity that the best six years of youth should be spent in studying heathen writers.

It is unnecessary to say that Phillips, influenced by Pearson, soon outgrew his hostility to Latin, so that when the school was opened, its course of study was overwhelmingly classical.

From a third paragraph in this draft we may gather his early views on another important matter: —

With regard to charity students, these arguments following may have some weight against planning for them in general. There are, no doubt, a great number of respectable wealthy persons who would be glad to have their children educated, and cheerfully be at the expense, but they find so great danger of their morals being totally corrupted that they are utterly deterred therefrom. This great difficulty being removed, there is reason to believe that the school would always be as full as conveniency would admit of, and certainly the happiness of such a child (a rich one) is of as great consequence as that of a poor child, his opportunity of doing good greater. His disinterestedness is a great argument in favor of his honest intentions in following the profession of a minister, that he does it from principles, and *not from a lucrative view;* but charity

scholars must pursue this; they speak because they are hired to; it is their living, say the scoffers.

Phillips, with his aristocratic instincts, could not bring himself to favor opening his school to all candidates, as Governor Dummer had done. His tendency to exclusiveness, however, was again overborne by Pearson's more robust democracy, and Phillips Academy soon became an institution where "scholarship boys," as they were called, were encouraged. In no one respect has it been more successful than in its willingness to provide poor but ambitious young men with the advantages of a sound education.

These crude preliminary papers were not to be mere theoretical discussion. Before 1777 Samuel Phillips, Jr., had begun negotiations with his father and uncle, looking to the establishment of such a school as he had dreamed of. He himself, young and comparatively poor, was without the means of carrying out his design; but Esquire Phillips and Dr. John Phillips, both unemotional, conservative men, unlikely to be swept off their feet by a transient enthusiasm, had faith in his good sense. Both, moreover, had been teachers, and were therefore qualified to judge the plan on its merits. When they had definitely promised to furnish the funds required, nothing remained but to make arrangements for putting the scheme into operation.

The first step was to secure a satisfactory location. Phillips, born and brought up in North Andover, naturally looked for a site close at hand, and accordingly opened negotiations for an extensive tract overlooking Lake Cochichawicke, near where the Kit-

tredge Mansion now stands. Finding it impossible to purchase there land enough for future contingencies, he next turned to the South Parish, where his grandfather had lived. Here he found the task somewhat easier. On September 24, 1776, Dr. John Phillips wrote his nephew: —

> I rejoice that our judicious well-dispos'd friends so heartily agree with us on our present establishment, and that there is so good a prospect of procuring land in a part of the Town which so agreeably and remarkably strikes our minds. . . . I doubt not you will endeavor to secure the lands so soon as may be — and wish you would consult our friends respecting the best manner of holding the lands to the use intended without *incumbrance*. I greatly desire a school may be forwarded, if the land can't *yet* be obtained; but leave the whole to your conduct.

Within a little over a year Samuel Phillips, Jr., was able to buy, in the name of his father and uncle, sufficient ground to allow, not only for the immediate needs of the institution, but also for an almost indefinite expansion. It is due to his large views and remarkable far-sightedness that the Trustees in later years have seldom felt hampered by the want of additional land. The first purchase consisted of two tracts, one of about twenty-two acres, the other of about seventeen, deeded on January 24, 1777, by Solomon Wardwell to Esquire Phillips; on this property stood an old house and a joiner's shop. On March 1, 1777, Captain Joshua Holt, administrator of the estate of George Abbot, Esq., conveyed to Esquire Phillips for the sum of six hundred pounds three separate parcels of land, one of twelve, one of twenty-eight,

and one of thirty acres. On May 29 of the same year Dr. John Phillips sanctioned these arrangements by binding himself, in an instrument drawn up and signed at Haverhill, to pay to a Board of six Trustees within one year the sum of one thousand, six hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. Two additional tracts of woodland, covering in all thirty-two acres, were transferred on January 12, 1778, by Nehemiah Abbot to Esquire Phillips. In the Deed of Gift, moreover, were specified some two hundred acres of land in New Hampshire, bought on September 4, 1777, by Esquire Phillips of one John Little. The various pieces of real estate acquired on Andover Hill amounted in the aggregate to over one hundred and forty acres, covering a large part of the area where Phillips Academy has to-day its buildings and playing-fields.

Up to this date the land on Andover Hill had not been a popular place of residence. The early settlements in the South Parish, quite naturally, had been made along the Shawsheen or on the gentle slope above the river. On the Hill were small patches of poorly cultivated farm land, in the midst of stretches of rocky pasture and clumps of stunted trees and bushes. Part of the territory was marshy, some almost swamp; and the meadows during rainy periods were flooded until they resembled shallow lakes. Phillips Hall, built in 1809, stood on the border of a boggy huckleberry lot, which the students and professors crossed by stepping from stone to stone. What is now the main campus was, in 1778, filled with birches, alders, briers, and berry-bushes, along

ANDOVER HILL IN 1786, LOOKING NORTH

THE OLD SOUTH "MINISTRY-MANSE"

the western side of which, near the road, was a low stone wall. On the turnpike, near the present Pease House, stood an old, unoccupied dwelling; the Abbot House on Phillips Street has already been mentioned; the so-called Blunt Tavern (later the Berry House and now the Johnson House) had been built by Captain Isaac Blunt before 1765; these houses, with the carpenter's shop just spoken of, were the only buildings then standing on the land occupied to-day by Phillips Academy.

It had originally been decided that the school should be entirely a private enterprise, under the direct personal supervision of Samuel Phillips, Jr.; and a document, erased and underlined, probably composed during 1777, gives the more important particulars of the plan, the most interesting feature of which was that the property already bought was to be handed over without restriction to Phillips and his heirs. In theory this may have seemed feasible; but it was not long before it seemed far more businesslike to vest the holding power in a Board of Trustees, which should renew itself perpetually. The Deed of Gift, or Constitution, in its final form, as it was signed by Esquire Samuel Phillips and Dr. John Phillips on April 21, 1778, was mainly the composition of Samuel Phillips, Jr., with the advice of other members of his family and the active coöperation of Eliphalet Pearson, whose sane counsel, as we have seen, had already modified in some important particulars the educational theories of his friend. No evidence is available as to the part taken by each in the production. It is probable that the actual drafting of

the document was done by Phillips, after frequent consultations with others. The Constitution has a substantial unity which proves it to be the work in the end of a single mind.

In considering the provisions of this remarkable document it must not be forgotten that there was no existing model which could be consulted or followed. Some of its principles, and occasionally some of its phrasing, it is true, were borrowed from Milton and Locke; but the details of organization, the legal arrangements, and the system of administration had all to be created by the author. The best proof of his success lies in the fact that for nearly a century and a half Phillips Academy has been conducted with this Constitution as a guide, without the necessity for a single amendment or the revision of even a word. The school is still carried on with every one of the distinctive features contemplated by the Founders. Expansion in numbers and in influence, the development or discarding of pedagogical theories, changes in the spirit of the age, — these have not affected the essential characteristics of the original plan. This is due primarily to the wise elasticity of the Constitution; never too rigid or exact, it has permitted adjustment to new conditions without deviation from the wishes of the original projectors.

These wishes, which should be studied in the Constitution itself, are expressed in certain fundamental principles, which will, perhaps, become clearer as the story of the school is told. Although the Academy was to be devoted to secondary education, it was to have the breadth of a university in organization and

administration. As an endowed academy, controlled by a permanent Board of Trustees and not operated for the profit of any person or corporation, it was to have a valuable independence, so that, dominated by no "special interests," it could deal with its students without discrimination. Undesirable pupils could be summarily ejected without fear of pecuniary loss. The school could pursue its independent course without being compelled constantly to consider the effect of any new policy upon the size of the student body. This fact alone was sufficient to set it apart from many schools otherwise of the same general type.

The Founders, however, did not desire to leave the Trustees absolutely unrestricted. Aware of the dangers that might arise if the Academy should ever become sectarian or parochial, they specified that a majority of the Trustees should always be laymen. In order to guard against any tendency to allow it to degenerate into a local or provincial academy, they further provided that a major part of the Trustees should not be inhabitants of the town in which the institution was located; and they permitted the Trustees, upon a two-thirds vote of their number and for "good and sufficient reasons," to change the situation of the Academy if at any time this should seem desirable. These clauses have been of immense importance in opening up to the authorities a national field of usefulness. There were no petty and vexatious conditions such as to-day hamper many American colleges. Liberal and tolerant in their point of view, the Founders succeeded in stamping their spirit upon the school.

This broad-mindedness was illustrated in other

ways. The Phillips School was to be "ever equally open to youth, of requisite qualifications, from every quarter." The advantage, not of any one district, but of the whole country, was considered. It was to be a "public free school or academy,"— not free in the matter of tuition, but free in the sense that it was open to all properly qualified applicants, regardless of race or nationality, religious convictions, financial standing, or social position. This policy the Trustees have consistently maintained, with the fortunate result that Phillips Academy has never been representative merely of a single class or locality.

Accepting the doctrine laid down by Samuel Phillips, Jr., that the instruction in an ideal school should be "one continued lecture on all that is good and great," the Founders stated explicitly that "the *first and principal* object of this institution is the promotion of true Piety and Virtue." The manner in which this injunction is emphasized and reiterated, "so that there could not be the smallest perversion of the true intent of the Founders," shows that they were unanimous in believing that the teachers should occupy themselves chiefly in pointing out to pupils "the great end and real business of living." At one time the Founders considered inserting some doctrinal qualifications in the Constitution. On January 24, 1778, Dr. Phillips wrote to Samuel Phillips, Jr.: —

> I am convinced of the need of Scholars being under the Tuition of Instructors who are of what we call Calvinistical Principles. I would not employ any that neglected teaching the Assembly's *Catechism* — or if any part was objected to, should expect to know what part.

The nephew very fortunately was able to persuade his uncle that any such restrictions would be both unnecessary and unwise. Some mention, it is true, was made regarding the duty of the Master to impress upon his pupils certain Calvinistic doctrines — "the fall of Man — the Depravity of Human Nature — the Necessity of an Atonement," and other kindred dogmas. The Founders did, however, avoid the danger of inflicting upon Phillips Academy a stationary and inelastic creed. Nothing was said in the Constitution about the Westminster Catechism. The one indispensable provision was that Principal, Trustees, and Teachers should always be Protestants.

A course of study was sketched roughly in the Constitution, but it was made flexible by a saving final clause, — "*fourth*, such other of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, or Languages, as opportunity and ability may hereafter admit, and as the Trustees shall direct." Without violating the manifest intentions of the Founders the authorities have felt free to change the curriculum in accordance with the variations of educational evolution. Some subjects once regarded as vital have been permanently discarded; others, from time to time, have been added to the list. Phillips Academy, nevertheless, has remained throughout its history a "cultural" school, and has vigorously resisted the increasing demand for so-called "vocational" studies.

According to one provision of the Constitution boys were to be encouraged "to perform some manual labor, such as gardening, or the like, so far as is consistent with cleanliness and the inclination of their

parents." During the early years half-hearted efforts were made to carry out this suggestion; but the gradual increase in the importance of outdoor sports soon made it impossible to lure most boys into ploughing land or digging potatoes.

Realizing that the value of such a school as they were planning would depend largely upon the character and efficiency of the Principal Instructor, — or Master, as he was commonly called in the Constitution, — the Founders devoted much attention to prescribing the qualities desirable for the incumbent of that office and the duties involved in its proper administration. He must be "a professor of the Christian religion, of exemplary manners, of good natural abilities and literary acquirements, of a good acquaintance with human nature, of a natural aptitude for instruction and government." "It is expected," says the Constitution, "that the Master's attention to the disposition of the *minds* and *morals* of the youth, under his charge, will exceed every other care." He was to watch their health and excite them to industry; to act as their personal adviser in questions of conduct; to point out "the deformity and odiousness of vice, and the beauty and amiableness of virtue"; and to inculcate moral precepts by frequent repetition. The Founders, hoping that a large number of the Academy students would eventually choose the Christian ministry as their profession, believed it to be essential that they should be grounded early in the broader doctrines of New England Calvinism. Of this system the Principal would naturally be the chief support.

The views on education thus outlined in the Constitution of Phillips Academy were at that time new to American thought; but many of them bear a striking resemblance to the theories of John Locke. That philosopher, in his famous treatise *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), had divided education into four parts, placing Virtue first, then Wisdom, then Breeding, and finally Learning. "It is virtue, then, direct virtue," he went on to say, "which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education. . . . Everything should be bent to the acquisition of virtue. . . . All other considerations and accomplishments should give way, and be postponed, to this." Again he added, "I place virtue as the first and most necessary of those endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman, as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself." He speaks in another section of "the great decay of Christian piety and virtue," and of the desirability of retrieving them in the next generation. "The great business of all," he asserts, "is virtue and wisdom." All this reads much like the phrasing employed by Samuel Phillips, Jr.

Locke also laid peculiar stress on the desirability of securing an able and conscientious preceptor. In summarizing the duties of such a master, he says: —

> The great work of a governor is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in the pupil good habits, and the principles of virtue and wisdom; to give him, little by little, a view of mankind; and work him into a love and

imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and in the prosecution of it, to give him vigour, activity, and wisdom.

Other features of Locke's essay also invite comparison with the Constitution of Phillips Academy. Locke had, as one critic says, "a profound conviction of the importance of education, and of the breadth of its aim. It has to fit men for life — for the world, rather than for the university." It was Phillips's comprehension of this same theory that led him, like Locke, to place the supreme emphasis on the development of character.

From Milton it is possible that Samuel Phillips, Jr., received some inspiration, but of a kind more general than specific. It is to be noted, however, that the word "Academy," as applied to an educational institution for boys, was first employed by Milton in his *Essay on Education* (1644).[1] In the Constitution the name commonly given to the school was "Seminary," but this was shortly superseded, and the Act of Incorporation in 1780 was passed for Phillips

[1] The word "Academy" used as Milton had employed it was adopted by the English non-conformists as a convenient designation for the schools which they, in self-defense, were forced to organize after the Act of Uniformity (1662) and other measures had excluded dissenters from the public schools and universities. It was not long before a similar use of the word had spread to America. Jonathan Edwards, in his *Thoughts on the Revival*, drew especial attention to the English academies, and advised his friends to imitate the idea. Benjamin Franklin in his *Autobiography* speaks of the "Academy" which, in 1749, he opened in Philadelphia, in the "great house" which had been erected for the evangelist, Whitefield. In 1754 the town of Hadley in Massachusetts declared itself ready to devote an estate to "the support of an Academy." By 1778 the word was reasonably well known in the colonies as applicable to a certain type of secondary school.

Academy. One provision of the Constitution empowered the Trustees to erect "a large, decent building, sufficient to accommodate at least fifty scholars with boarding, beside the master and his family." This has some resemblance to Milton's suggestion:—

> First, to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an Academy, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it done.

There is nothing to indicate that Phillips had made any study of the great English public schools, such as Winchester, Eton, and Harrow. It is, indeed, much more probable that he borrowed ideas from the English nonconformist academies, which, in turn, were based mainly on the principles laid down by Milton and Locke.[1] Much of this discussion of influences, however, is vain speculation, in which it is easy to

[1] Of the non-conformist academies, we have information regarding more than thirty, and many others must have existed. One of the best-known was that of Dr. Phillip Doddridge, Judge Phillips's favorite theologian, which was opened in Northampton in 1729, and maintained for twenty-two years. The influence of these English academies upon the Phillips academies has usually been much exaggerated. The English academies were devoted almost exclusively to the training of dissenting clergymen; they were, moreover, in part a protest against the classical scheme of education then practiced in Eton and Winchester, and their courses of study included many uncommon subjects, not unlike those adopted later by the Teachers' Seminary at Andover. The original plan of Samuel Phillips, Jr., for a school did, it is true, resemble in some respects that of the Doddridge Academy; but, as we have seen, Pearson's influence made the Phillips School follow rather the classical lines already laid down by the New England Grammar Schools, such as the Boston Latin School and the Hopkins Grammar School.

exaggerate matters really of small significance. The fact is that Samuel Phillips, Jr., as pioneer in a new field, is worthy of being ranked among men like Horace Mann and Andrew D. White, as one of the few original minds in American education.

In the Deed of Gift, which we have been accustomed to call the Constitution, ten men were named, who, with Esquire Samuel Phillips and John Phillips of Exeter, were to comprise the first Board of Trustees. The composition of this body had been the occasion of a considerable correspondence between Dr. Phillips and his nephew. On March 13, 1778, the former wrote: —

> With respect to Mr. Pearson's being one of the Board of Trust, you may remember I mention'd him heretofore — but as my brother and you were silent respecting it, I did not insist. I cannot say upon mature thought that your uncle William's not yet engaging to help bear the expense of the propos'd institution sh'd disqualify him from assisting otherwise — but as it seems there is room for but one more, should that be overruled otherwise; I must renew the nomination of *yourself* — and think your father's objections ought not to prevent it; and unless there appear to the other members of the Board an absolute inconsistency, I do and must *insist* upon it. As to your saying your Father's resignation would *soon* remove his objection, he may not once think of *my* excusing him, or continuing a member with those that shall. But you will say a major part must not be inhabitants of Andover. I say so too with regard to *future* selections; 't is clearly a good as it may turn out a needful provision, and best to be now established as a rule in the future.

Dr. Phillips's desire that his brother William and Samuel Phillips, Jr., should both be on the Board

was followed. The other members were all personal friends of the Founders. Eliphalet Pearson, who had already been named as Principal, was a member *ex officio*. The Reverend Jonathan French[1] (1740–1809), a classmate of Samuel Phillips, Jr., at Harvard, had been, since 1772, minister of the South Church in Andover, and was a man of recognized leadership among his people. The Reverend Josiah Stearns (1732–88) was a distinguished clergyman, who was pastor during the last thirty years of his life at Epping, New Hampshire. Nehemiah Abbot (1731–

[1] Jonathan French was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, January 30, 1740. In 1757 he enlisted as a private, and, after an illness, became a sergeant at Castle William. He entered Harvard in 1767, and graduated four years later. He had planned to be a missionary among the Indians, but the offer of the South Church in Andover dissuaded him. He married Abigail Richards, of Weymouth. Mr. French was a short, stocky man, unceremonious in his manners, but hospitable and blessed with good sense. His sermons, of which nine were published, had no showy qualities. His theology was remarkable for its breadth and tolerance.

Several excellent stories are told of Mr. French. His salary in Andover was to be eighty pounds, paid semi-annually, and firewood. One fall the parishioners forgot the wood; when the Thanksgiving Proclamation arrived, the minister read it to his congregation, and said, "My brethren, you will perceive that His Excellency has appointed Thursday next as a day of Thanksgiving; according to my custom it is my purpose to write two discourses for that occasion, provided I can get them ready without a fire." Before the next noon cord after cord of wood was stacked up in the parsonage yard.

When Mr. French was pastor and Samuel Phillips was Lieutenant-Governor, they used to ride horseback together. Each courteously insisted on giving the other the right-hand position. At last they compromised: the minister would consent to take precedence in Andover if Phillips would agree to take the place of honor in the rest of the Commonwealth. They thus solemnly changed positions whenever they crossed the town boundaries.

Mr. French has been portrayed sympathetically and vividly as the simple and generous Parson Adrian Bulkley in Edmund Quincy's novel *Wensley*, the scene of which is laid in Andover.

1808), a prosperous Andover farmer, was selected by Phillips to be Treasurer of the Board. Of the others, Oliver Wendell[1] (1733–1818), the grandfather of Oliver Wendell Holmes, was a well-known representative in the General Court, whose sister, Margaret, had married Esquire Phillips's first cousin, William Phillips; John Lowell (1743–1802), the grandfather of James Russell Lowell, was a lawyer of Newburyport and Boston, who became a Judge of the United States Circuit Court and was a leader in the Boston community; the Reverend Elias Smith (1731–91) was minister for thirty-two years at Middleton, Massachusetts; and the Reverend William Symmes (1729–1807), pastor of the church at North Andover from 1758 until his death, was one of Esquire Phillips's nearest neighbors. Four of these men were ministers and eight were laymen; of the eight, however, one, Eliphalet Pearson, was later ordained as a clergyman. The rule prescribing that a majority of the Trustees should be non-residents of Andover was temporarily waived, for six of the number were citizens of the town. All twelve had been born and educated in New England and in the Calvinistic faith.

On Tuesday, April 28, 1778, in the old Abbot House on Phillips Street where Samuel Phillips, Jr., was then living, the Trustees, with only one member, the Reverend Josiah Stearns, absent, held their first meeting. The Board was there permanently organized with Esquire Phillips as President, Mr. French as Clerk, and Mr. Nehemiah Abbot, as Treasurer.

[1] Mr. Wendell later became a Probate Judge in Suffolk County, a State Senator, and a member of the Governor's Council.

From this date until 1878, a full century, the *Records* were preserved in a huge folio volume presented to the Board on April 20, 1779, by Mr. French. The book is now worn and yellow with age, but the stately script of the first Clerk, as clear-cut as engraving, is still as legible as on the day when the entries were made. At this meeting some necessary business was transacted. The institution, hitherto styled a "Seminary," was given the name of "Phillips School," and the title of Preceptor was bestowed upon the "Principal Instructor." It was determined, apparently because of the poor state of Pearson's health that the number of scholars should be limited to thirty, until it should be enlarged by a formal vote. Two vacations of three weeks in length were arranged for each year, one in April, the other in October. Finally Pearson, who had just left the town grammar school, was formally nominated and elected as Preceptor.

On the following day, Wednesday, April 29, the meeting was continued, at which time Pearson's salary was fixed at eighty pounds a year, with "the improvement of the two pieces belonging to the school, situate in Andover." An assistant, Joseph Mottey, was engaged for two months. The classical nature of the school was established by a vote, "That preference shall be given to those scholars who are to be instructed in the learned languages." The Treasurer was required to give bonds for a thousand pounds. The regulation of discipline was provided for in a resolution: —

That if any scholar shall be so incorrigibly vicious that his continuance at the Seminary may be dangerous to the

morals of the other scholars, or inconsistent with the good government of the Seminary, he shall be expelled, and never afterwards readmitted.

This expulsion was to be dignified by being made a public ceremony; it was to be decided upon by a committee of Trustees, "of which two at least shall be present with the Preceptor at such expulsion, which shall be made in the School House, in the presence of the scholars, by the Preceptor." A system of boarding-houses, to be kept by private families in the town, was arranged, and several prominent Andover persons, among them Samuel Phillips, Jr., and Pearson, agreed to furnish room and board at reasonable rates. Not for over fifty years did the Trustees find it possible to build dormitories for the boys.

Meanwhile an old carpenter's shop, included in the purchase from Solomon Wardwell, had been moved to the corner of "the old road to the meeting-house" (now Main Street) and the lane which has since been named Phillips Street, almost on the spot where the Archæological Museum[1] now stands. This rude structure, only one story high and only thirty-five by twenty feet in floor space, made of unpainted boards and ornamented on the exterior by a brick chimney, was fitted up temporarily for school purposes, although it could at best accommodate few more than fifty boys. Many a rural "district school" has afforded its pupils better quarters.

[1] A bronze tablet, placed on the front of the Archæological Museum and dedicated on Founders' Day, October 11, 1913, commemorates the formal opening of Phillips Academy on that site in 1778.

The necessary preliminaries having been completed, Phillips School was at last opened on April 30, 1778. The schoolhouse, small as it was, was large enough for the little group that assembled there on that memorable Thursday morning, to meet Master Pearson and to hear a dedicatory sermon by the Reverend Jonathan French. Dummer School had started with twenty-eight pupils; Phillips School began with only thirteen. There were few favorable auspices; indeed, no time could have seemed less propitious for such a project. General Washington and his rapidly waning army had just passed through the terrible winter at Valley Forge. The news of our treaty with France, signed February 6, 1778, had barely reached our shores. The nearness of the conflict is indicated by a vote of the Trustees in 1778 authorizing a committee to "make application to the General Court for a number of books, belonging to the estates of the absentees, for the use of the school." These "absentees" were Tories, or loyalists, who, for safety, had fled to Canada or England, in many cases leaving their property behind them. No stable American government had as yet been formed, and even the most optimistic were far from certain that the patriots would win in their struggle against heavy odds. It was one of the darkest hours of the war.

The first name to appear on the register of Phillips School was that of Thomas Payson, of Boston, aged thirteen. The original enrollment gradually increased and, at the end of a month, the full complement of thirty was made up. On June 24 the Committee of

Exigencies voted to enlarge the School to the number of thirty-five, forty, or forty-five scholars, and on November 4 a similar resolution permitted it to extend to sixty. The total registration for the first year is recorded as fifty-one. Of these all were, as might be expected, from New England, eight being from New Hampshire and the remainder from Massachusetts. No scholar came from outside the New England States until 1782, when John Callender arrived from Fredericksburg, Virginia. Thirteen of the first fifty-one boys were from Andover. The variation in ages was extraordinary. The youngest, little Josiah Quincy [1] (1772–1864), who entered on May 29, 1778, was only six years old; he sat beside James Anderson of Londonderry, New Hampshire, a man nearly thirty years of age. Quincy, who had been sent to Andover because his mother, a daughter of the Honorable William Phillips, of Boston, wished to encourage the Phillips School, was later the second Mayor of Boston; and by a strange coincidence the future first Mayor of Boston, John Phillips [2] (1770–

[1] Josiah Quincy, son of the famous patriot, was born in Boston, February 4, 1772, attended Andover for eight years, and graduated from Harvard in 1790. He began the practice of law in 1793. In 1805 he was elected to Congress, and served there until 1813. In 1823 he was chosen Mayor of Boston, and held the office until 1828, when he resigned to become President of Harvard College. He retained this post until 1845. He died in Quincy, July 1, 1864. Among his publications are the well-known *History of Harrard College* (1840) and other important books. His reminiscences of Andover life are very entertaining.

[2] John Phillips, whose uncle, Judge Oliver Wendell, was a Trustee of Phillips Academy, graduated from Harvard in 1788. He held several important offices, being for a time President of the Massachusetts Senate and later the first Mayor of Boston in 1823. It was while he was still Mayor that he died, May 29, 1823. Among his children were Wendell Phillips and John Charles Phillips, the elder of the name.

1823), whose father was a second cousin of Judge Phillips, was one of Quincy's playmates in that little group of scholars during the early months of the school. An examination shows that a considerable number of those on this school list for the first year were, like those just mentioned, relatives of members of the Board of Trustees.

On October 8, 1778, the Trustees made an official visit of inspection, and on the same day a committee was appointed to apply to the General Court for an Act of Incorporation. On April 20, 1779, it was voted that the name of the institution should be changed from "Phillips School" to "Phillips Academy," and the title of the "Principal Instructor" from "Preceptor" to "Rector," "provided it may be done without giving offense." The proposed substitute for the title of Preceptor was apparently never adopted; but the passage of an Act of Incorporation on October 4, 1780, established the name of the school as Phillips Academy. This act was the last legislative measure of the old Provincial Court; the new State Government which Judge Phillips had helped to form was organized in November. Phillips Academy has the distinction of being the earliest incorporated academy, not only in the Commonwealth, but also in the country at large.[1] The phraseology of the Act of Incorporation is evidently the work of Judge Phillips himself, the Preamble, indeed, being in his own handwriting. The language, for the most

[1] Although Dummer School had been opened in 1763, it was not incorporated until 1782, and was not named as Dummer Academy before that date.

part, either repeats or condenses that in the Deed of Gift, but it is specified that the number of Trustees "shall not at any one time be more than thirteen nor less than seven." By the terms of the bill the Academy was authorized to hold real estate with an annual income of five hundred pounds and personal property up to an income of two thousand pounds. The act was signed by John Hancock, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

In April, 1780, the Trustees made the first of what has proved since to be a long series of embarrassing discoveries: that the available funds were inadequate to the support of the institution. Accordingly an assessment was levied on the scholars, to the amount of two and one half dollars, "hard money," every quarter. This was the initial step towards the stated tuition fee which soon became indispensable for the proper maintenance of the Academy. Despite this temporary reverse, Judge Phillips, on September 6, 1780, wrote to his uncle in Exeter: "This school is in a flourishing state, in the estimation of those who have children here."

When the Phillips School opened, Samuel Phillips, Jr., and Eliphalet Pearson were only twenty-six years old. The idea had been a young man's project, carried out with a young man's ardor and enthusiasm. The vision of an academy became rapidly a reality; but not too rapidly, for, as it turned out, nearly every exigency had been anticipated. But, although the Founders had striven to provide against failure, they could not be certain that the plan would work well in operation; it was gratifying, then, to see that its suc-

cess was likely to exceed even their most sanguine expectations. We to-day can appreciate how admirably Judge Phillips's motto, "Finis origine pendet," which he transferred to the school, is suited to Phillips Academy, — an institution which has prospered because it had a right beginning.

When the merits of the new scheme of education became known, the idea spread speedily into other districts. A committee of both Houses of the General Court reported, February 27, 1797, that fifteen academies had been incorporated in Massachusetts. Of these, seven had already received grants of state lands; and the committee recommended that a half township in Maine should be appropriated for the use of four others, Dummer, Phillips, Groton, and Westford. At this time the principles were laid down that academies were, in most respects, public schools; that they were a part of an organized system of education; that they ought to be distributed to suit the needs of different localities, one to every twenty-five thousand people; and that their advantages should be used for the common benefit. Among the academies of importance which followed the model of Phillips may be named Leicester Academy (1784), in Worcester County, founded by Colonel Ebenezer Crofts, of Sturbridge; Derby Academy (1784) at Hingham; Bristol Academy (1792) at Taunton; Westford Academy (1792); Westfield Academy (1793); New Salem Academy (1795); Groton Academy (1793); Monson Academy (1804); and Amherst Academy (1812), besides others of lesser note. Before 1841 nearly one hundred and twenty acts incorporating

academies had been passed by the General Court. Not all these institutions, of course, were actually opened for students; some of them were born feeble, languished a few years, and died dismally; but there was at this period at least one such school in every county in Massachusetts. The service performed by these academies in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in raising educational standards was very great.

With the rise of the high school about 1825 many of these academies lost a large part of their patronage, and sank slowly into a decline. Some, like the Franklin Academy in North Andover, fought desperately, but had ultimately to be abandoned. Others were transformed into high schools, or were superseded by them. A few still in existence to-day are continuing with moderate success, supported by their endowments. The two Phillips Academies have been more fortunate. For various reasons which will become clear later they managed to survive the critical period, and to adjust themselves to changed conditions. Some life-giving principle there must have been, to keep these schools healthy when so many others, apparently equally well constituted, could not escape ruin.

CHAPTER V

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PEDAGOGUE

Roll the round century's fivescore years away,
Call from our storied past that earliest day
When great Eliphalet (I can see him now, —
Big name, big frame, big voice, and beetling brow),
Then *young* Eliphalet — ruled the rows of boys
In homespun gray or old-world corduroys, —
And, save for fashion's whims, the benches show
The self-same youths, the very boys we know.

The boys who took their places on the hard benches in the old joiner's shop were not harassed by the intricacies of a complex curriculum, or by the problem of choosing among seductive optional courses. The schedule of work prepared by Preceptor Pearson included only Latin, Greek, a little — a very little — mathematics, and some reading in religious treatises. Josiah Quincy complained of being obliged to get by heart passages from Cheever's *Accidence*, or *Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue*, one of the standard New England textbooks. Much of this, as he confessed, he was unable to understand: —

> My memory, though ready, was not tenacious, and the rule being that there should be no advance until the first book was conquered, I was kept in Cheever's *Accidence* I know not how long. All I know is, I must have gone over it twenty times before mastering it.

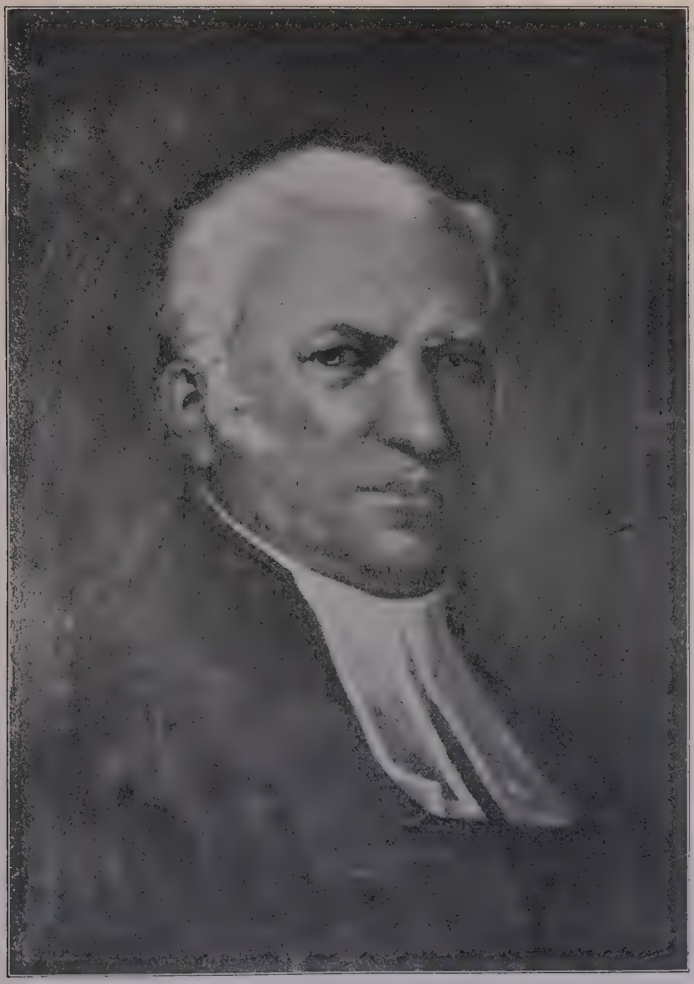
Quincy was naturally a playful child, fond of games and outdoor life, and full of harmless pranks; it was inquisitional torture for him to be confined on warm summer days, four hours in the morning and four in

the afternoon, sitting with his companions on an uncomfortable pine bench and trying hopelessly to memorize Latin declensions which conveyed to him no meaning whatever.

The routine for an average day in Quincy's time was described by Pearson himself, in a letter written in 1780: —

> School begins at eight o'clock with devotional exercises, — a psalm is read and sung. Then a class consisting of four scholars repeats memoriter two pages in Greek Grammar, after which a class of thirty persons repeats a page and a half of Latin Grammar; then follows the "Accidence Tribe," who repeat two, three, four, five, and ten pages each. To this may be added three who are studying arithmetic: one is in the Rule of Three, another in Fellowship, and the third in Practice. School is closed at night by reading Dr. Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, accompanied by rehearsals, questions, remarks, and reflections, and by the singing of a hymn and a prayer. On Monday the scholars recite what they can remember of the sermons heard on the Lord's Day previous; on Saturday the bills are presented and the punishments administered.

There was occasionally a mild variety in this dreary schedule; frequently the boys read lessons in the Bible, or learned by heart some of Dr. Watts's *Hymns for Children*, or were set lessons in Mason's *Self-Knowledge*, that uninspiring manual of conduct which, published first in 1744, had by 1778 reached its tenth edition. Some public declamation was required, and selections were delivered by pupils at the annual Exhibition. An entry in the *Records* for May 22, 1782, conveys the thanks of the Trustees to the parish for granting the boys permission to use the meeting-



ELIPHALET PEARSON

house for their practice in oratory. The question of employing a French instructor was considered, and eventually one was allowed, with the provision, however, that his students pay him an extra fee and that his teaching be not permitted to interfere with the exercises of the school. A writing-master is mentioned, the first one apparently being Abiah Holbrook, who must have begun giving instruction before 1790.

Little Josiah Quincy boarded with the Reverend Jonathan French in the quaint old "ministry manse" on the corner of School and Central Streets. In that house lived some six or eight students, sleeping in one large room, two boys to a bed. Their food was simple but plentiful, consisting chiefly of beef and pork, with a variety of vegetables, and, in the winter, frozen cod. The only bread they had was Indian or rye, or a mixture of both. In that pious household every inmate had to attend morning and evening prayers. On Sunday each boy carried with him to church a pen and ink-bottle, for the purpose of taking down the text, with the topics and sub-topics of the discourse. Quincy, who found Master Pearson "distant and haughty in his manners," passed his happiest hours in the good minister's home, where he could enjoy a welcome relief from the relentless discipline of the classroom. Of his gloomy experiences at school Quincy wrote in his *Recollections:* —

> Child as I was, my mind was abroad with my bats and marbles. It delighted in the play of the imagination. The abstract and the abstruse were my utter detestation. The consequences were that I often came home to Mr. French

in tears, having been either censured or punished. I found in his bosom a never-failing place of rest for my sorrow and suffering.

Principal Eliphalet Pearson, who thus struck terror to the soul of the seven-year-old boy, has been called "in some respects the most remarkable man ever connected with the institutions of Andover." More than one historian of those days has lavished superlatives upon him. He was a stubborn, autocratic pedagogue of the old school, powerful in physique, domineering in manner, and exacting in his requirements from his pupils. But he was something more than a leader in the classroom. Washington once said of him, "His eye shows him worthy, not only to lead boys, but to command men." His astounding energy and versatility made him seem to be a kind of "superman." He was an able musician, both in theory and practice: a good bass singer, a performer upon the violoncello, and the author of an authoritative treatise on psalmody. A skilled mechanic, he could take apart an engine or construct his own violin. As a farmer and trader he displayed shrewd business sense. His scholarship was impressive, for he knew not only Latin, Greek, and French, but also Hebrew, Syriac, and Coptic. His restless and eager intellect carried him into almost every field of research.

Pearson's temperament, which was naturally irritable, made him no friends. His students, with whom he was far from popular, called him "Elephant" Pearson, because of his ponderous name and figure; and older people were not inclined to waste upon him

any terms of endearment. He once said to his son, "I care not a straw what the world thinks of me." More than once this disregard of the views of others was the cause of his being denied the credit for achievements which were really due to his aggressiveness and persistence. There was nothing flabby about Pearson's personality, nothing vague about his opinions. A dogmatist on problems of politics, education, or theology, he was accustomed to speak *ex cathedra* and to brook no opposition. His faults, however, were never those of weakness. Even those who disliked him would have agreed with Professor Park that Pearson was "a many-sided and strong-handed laborer for the welfare of his race."

Much of what has been said of Pearson in the preceding paragraphs is applicable to him only in the later stages of his diversified career. At the time when he was Principal of Phillips Academy his real genius was, perhaps, not quite so manifest. Born in Newbury, Massachusetts, June 11, 1752, Eliphalet Pearson was about four months younger than his friend, Samuel Phillips, Jr. He was the eldest son of David Pearson, a thrifty farmer and miller. In order to attend school Eliphalet had to give his father a promissory note for the sum advanced for his education; and he had then to walk four miles each way, through fields and along lonely crossroads, to Dummer School. From there Pearson, in 1769, followed Phillips to Harvard College, where he graduated in 1773, two years later than his friend. Pearson's scholastic record at Cambridge was decidedly brilliant, and his Commencement oration denouncing

the African slave trade was considered so remarkable that it was published in pamphlet form.

After graduation, Pearson spent some months in further study in Cambridge, where he made the acquaintance of the widow of President Holyoke, of Harvard, and her daughter Priscilla. In April, 1775, following the news of the clash of arms at Lexington, he promptly escorted these ladies to Andover, hoping that they might there be safe from intrusion. So pleased was he with the reception accorded him by Samuel Phillips, Jr., that he also settled in Andover, taking charge of the grammar school, acting as a kind of private chaplain in the Holyoke home, reading extensively in both theology and science, and filling the pulpit in adjacent parishes. The part played by his knowledge of chemistry in insuring the success of the Phillips powder-mill has already been related.

In 1780, after his election as Principal of Phillips Academy, he married Priscilla Holyoke, who was then forty, twelve years older than he, but who looked and acted like the younger of the two. She brought him a dowry of $8000. Pearson and his bride moved at once into the Abbot House on Phillips Street, just vacated by Samuel Phillips, Jr.; but their life together was short, for Mrs. Pearson died in childbirth, March 29, 1782, leaving a daughter, Maria. Three years later Pearson took a second wife, Sarah Bromfield, daughter of Edward Bromfield, Esq., of Boston, by whom he had four children. She was singularly plain and unprepossessing in appearance, but impressed her acquaintances as being amiable and

intelligent. She survived her husband at his death in 1826.

Pearson had coöperated heartily with Samuel Phillips, Jr., in discussing plans for a school, and, as we have seen, he had a strong influence on Phillips's attitude towards several important problems. It was understood from the beginning that Pearson was to be the first Master. He himself, with an attention to details which would have done credit to Phillips, drew up a contract in which his emoluments and privileges were carefully specified. When this was ratified, he proceeded to organize the administration of Phillips Academy.

In his methods of discipline Pearson closely resembled the notorious Dr. Busby, of Westminster, and the execrated Dr. John Keate, of Eton. He believed in making his boys thoroughly afraid of him. "I have no recollection," wrote Josiah Quincy, "of his ever having shown any consideration for my childhood. Fear was the only impression I received from his treatment of myself and others." Once, after an offender had been censured by Pearson, the victim was asked, "How did you feel?" "I pinched myself to know whether I was alive," was the answer. On one occasion after a flagrant breach of the rules the Principal suddenly appeared before the students, stamped his foot ferociously, and cried, "Let the one who performed that outrage instantly come forth." So terrified was the culprit that he at once confessed and took his punishment. He kept during the week an account of all offenses, and on Saturday compelled the delinquents to spend in study a part of the holiday

proportioned to the misdemeanor. Edmund Quincy once said of him: "Dr. Pearson had the faults of his period, and was cruel in the punishments he inflicted. As a master he was severe and sometimes unjust." There can be no doubt that he was impatient and irascible; as he put it, "I have been so long a teacher of boys that I have spoiled my temper."

Even when the argument was clearly against him, Pearson was unreasonably obstinate. One day some bright members of his class found in Cæsar's *Commentaries* the original Latin of a passage which the Principal had asked them to translate from English into Latin, and roguishly brought in Cæsar's writing as their own. Pearson, in his usual fashion, commenced to point out flaws in the work; when told of the trick, he only said, "It must be an interpolation; Cæsar never wrote such Latin." Josiah Quincy once described vividly Pearson's methods of instruction: —

> I was called upon to give the principal parts of the Latin verb *noceo*. Unfortunately I gave to the "c" a hard sound, which in those days was considered incorrect. I said, "nokeo, nokere, nok-i." The next thing I knew, I was knocked.

In Quincy's case Pearson proved himself to be a poor prophet. So dull did he conceive the boy to be that he advised Mrs. Quincy not to send him to college. More discerning than he, she disregarded the recommendation, and the dunce became, not only Valedictorian of his class at Harvard, but afterwards one of the most illustrious Presidents of that university.

In defense of Pearson's despotic mode of govern-

ment it may be said that it was approved by the spirit of the age. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was a maxim in nearly every New England household, and parents expected teachers to continue the system. If under it the natural instincts of childhood were constantly repressed, as they undoubtedly were in too many cases, the blame must not be laid altogether at Pearson's door. It should be added in all fairness that the watch which he kept over the health, studies, and moral welfare of his charges and his zealous personal supervision of them were calculated to give parents confidence in his guardianship, and therefore in the newly founded school. It was probably fortunate that his firm hand was there to guide its destiny through those early crucial days.

A man of Pearson's nervous and domineering temperament was bound, of course, to meet with trouble. Many of the minor duties of his position weighed upon him heavily. He was a scholar, with literary tastes which he loved to gratify, and the restraint imposed upon him was extremely irksome. He once wrote: —

> To hear prepared recitations is a delight to me, but I have to keep my eye at the same time upon the idle and the dissipated. I have only one room for sixty boys; much noise and confusion is going on. I have to listen to many requests, and stop and settle many difficulties.

Like many an apparently self-confident man, he was also sensitive to criticism and chafed under the fact that he could not inspire affection. Under the circumstances it was remarkable that he remained at Andover so long.

With all his faults, Pearson was unquestionably a brilliant and thorough teacher. His students, most of whom went on to Harvard, made distinguished records, and the reputation of Phillips Academy for scholarship was soon established. During the eight years of his administration eighty-nine boys went from the school to college, seventy-six of them to Harvard.

While Pearson was busy organizing the work of the classroom, the Trustees were settling questions of future policy. When it was first decided in 1778 to levy a tuition fee, a committee was appointed to determine what students should be exempted, in whole or in part, from the payment of this assessment. In this way arose the scheme of scholarships for poor boys, which has done so much to preserve democracy in Phillips Academy. The entrance fee was not required until August 17, 1781, when it was voted that pupils must pay eighteen shillings "advance money" when they were admitted, this sum to be returned at the end of the course. This deposit, slightly increased from time to time, was finally in 1815 made a regular entrance fee of five dollars, which was not refunded.

For many years the Trustees kept a tight rein on the conduct of the students, and occupied themselves often with matters which to-day are entirely in the hands of the Principal. In 1780 they voted, "That no scholar who has taken lodgings in town, shall be at liberty to shift his boarding-place without first informing the preceptor." A fine of one shilling was imposed upon any pupil who was absent without excuse; and every boy planning to leave was required

to give notice six weeks in advance. The Trustees also forbade the boys to use or carry firearms, unless with the "particular leave" of the Principal.

In 1782 Judge Oliver Wendell and John Lowell, of the Trustees, presented to that body a seal, thought to have been engraved by Paul Revere, which is still the official insignia of Phillips Academy. It represents a hive, with the bees busy swarming to and fro; the sun at noon shining brightly above, with the motto, "Non Sibi"; and below the traditional motto of Judge Phillips, "Finis Origine Pendet."

Only one change in the Board of Trustees took place in Pearson's administration. In 1781 the Reverend Josiah Stearns resigned, and was succeeded by the Reverend David Tappan (1752–1803), another of the classmates of Judge Phillips at Harvard. Mr. Tappan was then minister at West Newbury, but was later to be Hollis Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.

It was not long before an agreeable necessity drove the Trustees to deal with the problem of housing properly the steadily increasing number of students. As early as 1780 the matter had been broached, but not until July 13, 1784, was a committee instructed to choose a location for a more commodious building. This second structure, which was completed on January 30, 1786, was erected on the southwest corner of the present Main Campus, slightly to the west of where Brechin Hall now stands. It has been described as "a two-story edifice of wood, with recitation rooms and a study-room on the lower floor, and a spacious hall for exhibitions and other public pur-

poses on the second floor." This hall was sixty-four feet long and thirty-three feet broad. The entrance was towards Main Street, and there was a rear door at the opposite side. Samuel Phillips, son of Colonel John Phillips, has left a short description:—

> The second Academy was a very commodious house — very spacious cellar — ample school room above; with recitation room for the assistant and a museum on the same floor — with what seemed to us then a rare show of natural and artificial curiosities.

The cost of construction and of the land to the south used for a training-field was nine hundred and fifty pounds, — the equivalent then of $3166.66, — which was defrayed in equal shares by the three Phillips brothers, Samuel, John, and William.

The old Academy building remained for some years on the original site, being used, first as a singing-room, and then as a storehouse for rags. In 1803 it was sold for thirty dollars to Abbot Walker, who removed it to a farm about half a mile to the east, and turned it into a workshop. About 1845 it was torn down.

Pearson's fame as a scholar and teacher extended rapidly as his work at Andover became known. In October, 1785, he was notified by President Joseph Willard, of Harvard, that he had been elected to succeed Stephen Sewall as Hancock Professor of Hebrew and the Oriental Languages in Harvard College, at a salary of two hundred and eighty pounds a year. The offer both financially and scholastically was too advantageous to refuse, and accordingly on January 3, 1786, he sent in to the Trustees his resigna-

tion of the Preceptorship. He remained in Andover only long enough to see the School safely housed in the new building, and then, on February 3, moved to Cambridge.

For the next twenty years Pearson was intimately connected with Harvard College. We are told that "his stately, courteous manners inspired awe rather than love," but he seems to have won a kind of leadership among his colleagues. He was frequently the agent of the Fellows on special business, especially in relation to college properties. At Commencements his house — the one which was later bought by the Holmes family and in which Oliver Wendell Holmes was born — was a center of hospitality where many eminent guests were entertained. Among the many honors which he received he was Fellow and Secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a Founder of the American Education Society, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and President of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He was honored by both Yale and Princeton with the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In his home in Cambridge he was fond of music, especially of the violoncello and bass-viol. Of the latter instrument, on which he was an excellent performer, he once said, "As it is commonly played, it might be compared to a wash-tub strung with a wheel-band, and played upon with a knotty apple stick." His love of nature led him to take a keen interest in botany and ornithology. Occasionally he is remembered as a critic, as when he said of Young's *Night Thoughts*, "Every line is a thunder bolt." Little

Oliver Wendell Holmes was impressed by the Professor's "large features and conversational *basso profundo.*"

Even in his new environment Pearson took care not to get out of touch with Andover. The stress of his collegiate duties did not prevent him from keeping exact lists of the boys each year at Phillips Academy, with an account of the term bill of each. We have his memoranda giving a reckoning of all the expenses incurred by him as Trustee from 1778 to 1819. As a member of the Board, and later as President of it, he was still a power to be considered in the administration of the institution, and when, in 1806, he returned to Andover Hill, it was to round out the career which he had begun there thirty years before.

After Pearson had taken his leave, the Trustees were confronted with the difficult problem of naming his successor. The time was the first of many such disturbing periods in the Academy history, for Pearson, despite his policy of ruling by fear, had created a vigorous and flourishing school, and a feeble second Principal might easily undo all that the first had accomplished. While investigation was being carried on, Caleb Bingham [1] (1757–1817) took charge for two months, but his strength proved unequal to the task. On March 2, 1786, Judge Phillips wrote Madame Phillips: —

Mr. Bingham had better attend the Academy as health

[1] Caleb Bingham, who graduated from Dartmouth College in 1782, was a teacher in several small schools, and later kept a bookstore for many years on Cornhill, Boston. He compiled the *Columbian Orator*, the *American Preceptor*, and other famous schoolbooks, of which in all 1,250,000 copies were printed.

will permit, though it should be but half the time, than to overdo and render himself unable to attend at all.

He was succeeded by John Abbot, 3d[1] (1759–1843), a young Harvard graduate, who, however, showed no especial efficiency. At last, on May 10, 1786, Ebenezer Pemberton, who had just resigned from the Plainfield Academy in Connecticut, came to Andover for a period of probation, and two months later was given a permanent appointment as Principal.

[1] John Abbot, 3d, was an Andover boy who was educated at Phillips Academy and Harvard College. He studied divinity, but was prevented by ill health from preaching. He was then cashier of the Portland Bank, but resigned in 1802 to connect himself with the newly founded Bowdoin College, where he was Professor of Ancient Languages, Librarian, Trustee, and Treasurer. He died at the ancestral homestead in Andover, July 2, 1843.

CHAPTER VI

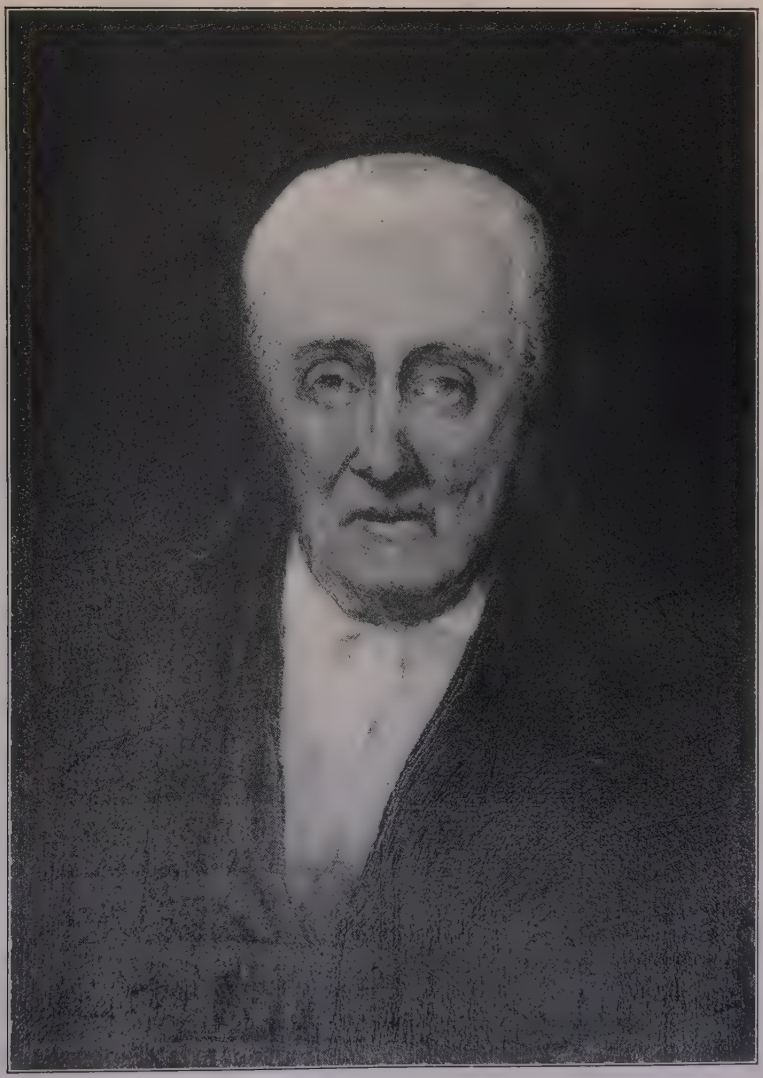
PEMBERTON, THE POLITE

> They, who were about him, did not fail
> In reverence, or in courtesy; they prized
> His gentle manners: and his peaceful smiles,
> The gleams of his slow-varying countenance,
> Were met with answering sympathy and love.

Even the sedate Judge Phillips must occasionally have smiled in noticing the differences between the first Principal and the second. Pearson, burly in body and brusque in manner, was an American Dr. Johnson; Pemberton, slight in build, dapper, and uniformly courteous, was not unlike Lord Chesterfield. Pearson was always "great Eliphalet," inclined to overawe and browbeat his students; Pemberton, who was small and unimpressive in appearance, spoke with a soft voice, seeming to persuade rather than to command. Josiah Quincy, who found it difficult to repress his dislike for Pearson, said of Pemberton:—

> Mild, gentle, conciliatory, and kind, inspiring affection and exciting neither fear nor awe, while he preserved and supported discipline, he made himself beloved and respected by his pupils.

Pemberton was at this time nearly forty years old. He was born in 1747 in Newport, Rhode Island, a grandson of Ebenezer Pemberton, minister of the Old South Church in Boston. An uncle, also a Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton, who was pastor of the New Brick Church in Boston, brought up the boy, sending him to Princeton (then called the College of New Jer-



EBENEZER PEMBERTON

sey), where he was Valedictorian of the class of 1765. During an engagement as tutor which kept him in residence at Princeton he had among his pupils Aaron Burr and James Madison; and it is said that even in his old age he preserved with pride a copy of the Latin address delivered to him by Madison in behalf of the latter and his classmates at the time of their departure from college. His wealthy uncle was ambitious that Pemberton should become a clergyman, and, to that end, offered to make him his heir. The young man, however, realized his unfitness for the ministry, and refused. Even when his uncle urged him repeatedly, and promised to leave him his fortune if he would only study for the ministry and preach one sermon, Pemberton persisted in his decision. As a result he lost the favor of his relative, and was compelled to rely almost entirely on his own resources. About 1778, after finishing a course of theology with the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, he accepted a position as Principal of the Academy at Plainfield, Connecticut. Here he taught for some years with considerable success, and his record was brought to the attention of Judge Phillips.

The Trustees were not averse to engaging Pemberton for life; but, owing to the uncertain state of his health, he declined to accept on these terms, and it was therefore specified that he should be allowed to withdraw at any time after three months' notice. His salary was fixed at one hundred and forty pounds, "lawful money." At the meeting when this contract was ratified it was voted "that the title of the chief instructor, in future, shall be Principal, instead of

Preceptor." The old title, however, appears in the *Records* for many years after this resolution.

Principal Pemberton soon showed that the school was not to deteriorate under his régime. Without the assertiveness, the versatility, and the brute power of his predecessor, Pemberton possessed no less valuable virtues of his own: tact, dignity, and marked executive ability. Although he used force only as a last resort, he managed to maintain strict discipline. His interest in deportment and in the technical details of etiquette was, perhaps, excessive; but it led him so to systematize the routine of the Academy that each day's schedule ran with perfect smoothness. At the early hour of morning chapel every student was expected to be in his proper seat; then, as Pemberton in his stately fashion entered the hall, the pupils rose and bowed formally, while the Principal, no less gracious, returned the salutation. He next ascended the platform, where he pronounced the invocation, after which the boys read verses in turn from a Bible chapter. At the close of the afternoon session the same ceremony was repeated, each student leaving only after bowing politely, first to the Principal and then to his assistant. Pemberton kept a close watch over the personal habits of his pupils; we find, for instance, that Caleb Strong, Governor of Massachusetts, wrote Judge Phillips at the end of a term: "My son's manners are much improved. He is a good deal mended of the trick of moving his feet and fingers."

It would be a mistake, however, to regard Pemberton as merely a fanatical *censor morum*. He was

himself no mean scholar, and under him the prestige of Phillips Academy in the community did not suffer. The curriculum was apparently broadened to include geography and some higher mathematics. The Principal laid particular emphasis on public declamation, and insisted that each boy should have thorough drill in addressing an audience. At the Exhibition in 1786 Josiah Quincy and John Thornton Kirkland[1] (1770–1840), two future presidents of Harvard College, delivered the dialogue of Brutus and Cassius from *Julius Cæsar*. Nor did the number of students diminish. During the seven years of Pemberton's administration seventy-seven of his pupils went to college, all but a few of them to Harvard. In the same year, 1792, there came to Phillips Academy Stephen Longfellow (1776–1849), father of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Charles Lowell (1782–1861), father of James Russell Lowell. Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817), for whom was named the city of Lowell, Massachusetts, preceded his brother Charles to Andover, and graduated in the class of 1789. Charles Pinckney Sumner (1776–1839), father of Charles Sumner, finished his course at Phillips Academy in 1792. These distinguished names indicate that Pemberton was able to inspire confidence in his school. What the Trustees thought of his suc-

[1] John Thornton Kirkland, son of a missionary among the Oneida Indians, was born August 17, 1770, at German Flats, New York. He graduated from Phillips Academy in 1786 and from Harvard in 1789; was pastor of the New South Church in Boston, 1794–1810; and was President of Harvard, 1810–28, preceding Josiah Quincy. Until his death, April 26, 1840, he lived in Boston or vicinity. A fine portrait of Dr. Kirkland, copied from the original by Stuart, hangs in the Academy Library.

cess may be judged from an unusual resolution which they passed, July 6, 1792, and in which they expressed their appreciation of "the care and attention which the Principal, & Assistant, & Writing Master, have paid to the instruction of the students as well as to their manners." The personal attitude of Judge Phillips is brought out in a letter to Dr. John Phillips, July 26, 1790: —

> This Academy is in a more flourishing state than it has been for some time — its numbers before the vacation about 54 — twelve in the Sen'r class well fitted for college tho' but 7 have *yet* been offered for admission — the morals and deportment of the youths regular. The satisfaction to the Trustees, upon their examination, better than in some years past.

In the maintenance of order and his insistence upon good conduct Pemberton must have been fully as exacting as Pearson. In this connection it is a pleasing pastime to glance over the *Records* and note some of the matters over which the Trustees assumed jurisdiction. Under the date of July 11, 1791, we meet with the following resolutions: —

> That single ladies shall be licensed to keep but two scholars at a time.
>
> That no scholar who is under the age of twenty-one years shall be allowed to purchase anything of another scholar on trust. . . . But that every scholar shall be obliged to keep a particular and regular account of his expenses, and exhibit it to the Principal whenever he shall call for it.
>
> That no scholar shall be allowed to bathe in any mill-pond.
>
> That no scholar, who cannot swim, shall be allowed to go

into the water, except in company with two or more scholars who can swim; or in the presence of a man who shall be approved of by the principal, or assistant, or any one of the Trustees.

The Trustees also felt concerned for the morals of the student body. On July 7, 1788, they resolved as follows: —

Voted, that if any member of the Academy shall be guilty of profanity or any other scandalous immorality; for the first offense it shall be the duty of the principal to administer a serious reproof. In case of a second offense notice thereof is to be given by the principal to the parent or guardian of such youth; and upon the third offense notice thereof shall be given to the Trustees.

The refusal of one of the boys to give information against a classmate led to the insertion of another clause in this penal code: —

Voted, unanimously, that it shall be the duty of each scholar, when required by the principal, the assistant, or any of the trustees to give evidence in any case of criminal misconduct in others, to declare the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. And in case any scholar shall be so lost to all sense of moral obligation, as to be guilty either of withholding evidence, or of giving false evidence; upon conviction thereof at any future time, while a member of the academy, he shall be publicly and solemnly admonished before the whole Academy, & such of the Trustees as can attend the sad solemnity. And upon conviction of a second offense of this kind, he shall be expelled from the Academy.

These votes of the Trustees upon matters which today are left almost entirely to the Principal and his Faculty show how sedulously the members guarded the academic peace. They were Argus-eyed in their

efforts to detect misconduct; indeed, they often felt called upon to extend their official duties so far as to report and punish the most trivial infractions of the rules. The Founders, especially Judge Phillips, did not hesitate to reprimand boys, and frequently took occasion to address them in the school hall on the odiousness of vice and the beauty of virtue.

The religious instruction so stressed in the Constitution was certainly not neglected under Pemberton. Here again, however, the Trustees, not satisfied to let the Principal use his judgment, reminded him, on July 5, 1792, of what was required of him: —

> That Mr. Pemberton be desired to appropriate as large a portion of the forenoon on Mondays to the purpose of examining the scholars in the exercises assigned them for the Lord's days, and making observation thereon, or on religious instruction, as he shall judge proper. It is expected that the Principal assign to the scholars, to be committed to memory on Lord's days, a portion from the Assembly's *Catechism* or Watts's *Catechisms*, or poetical works, or any other books he shall think proper, having due regard to the desire of parents when expressed.

On Sundays the boys still marched in a body to the Old South Church, where they occupied the three rear seats in the lower section of the gallery. While the new meeting-house was being built in 1788, the congregation, at the invitation of the Trustees, used the Academy Hall for their Sunday services.

Although Judge Phillips had wished to provide aid for poor students at the Academy, no feasible method of accomplishing this had as yet been discovered. During 1789, however, he had some corre-

spondence with Dr. John Phillips, with the result that in October, 1789, the latter conveyed to Phillips Academy at Andover the sum of more than $20,000 "for and in consideration of further promoting the virtuous and pious education of youth (poor children of genius, and of serious disposition especially)" — the largest single gift to the school for more than seventy-five years. At the annual meeting held on July 12, 1790, the Trustees passed a vote of appreciation: —

> That the thanks of the Board be presented to the Hon. John Phillips, Esq. for his pious and liberal donation, whereby he has still further manifested his generous and ardent zeal for the promotion of knowledge, virtue, and piety, and conferred an additional and lasting obligation upon the Academy. Upon this occasion the Trustees cannot but add their fervent wish and prayer, that the *Donor*, the distinguished *friend and patron* of science and religion, may live to behold, with increasing joy and satisfaction, the happy fruits of this, and of all his other pious liberalities; and at a very remote period, his numerous acts of benevolence may receive that reward which original and infinite goodness can bestow.

The news of this munificent gift was reported to the Trustees at the last meeting which Esquire Phillips, then almost seventy-five years old, was able to attend. His health, which had for some time been failing, was absolutely broken with the death of his beloved wife. On July 26, 1790, Judge Phillips wrote to Dr. John Phillips: —

> I wish I could give you more favorable accounts of my hon'd Father's health — his flesh and strength appear to be still wasting, and we have small ground to expect his continuing much longer to survive my hon'd mother.

A few weeks later, on August 21, he died. The loss of the oldest of the Founders brought sorrow to every one connected with Phillips Academy. Since its opening day he had been President of the Board of Trustees, and had attended faithfully every meeting until his increasing feebleness compelled him to withdraw from active life. In his stead Dr. John Phillips was chosen President; and on July 5, 1792, probably because Dr. Phillips found it inconvenient to be present at every meeting, the office of Vice-President was created, Judge Phillips being selected for the position. To fill the vacancy left by the death of Esquire Phillips, another member of the family, His Honor William Phillips [1] (1750–1827), of Boston, was elected a Trustee.

The most striking event of Pemberton's administration was probably the visit of General Washington to Andover during his tour of the Eastern States in the autumn of 1789. Leaving Haverhill on the morning of Thursday, November 5, he drove to Andover, where he breakfasted at Deacon Isaac Abbot's tavern, a building still standing on Elm Street. From there, escorted by Judge Phillips and

[1] William Phillips, only surviving son of the eight children of the Honorable William Phillips, was born April 10, 1750, in Boston, and educated at the Boston Latin School. In 1773 he made an extended tour of England, returning in 1774 on one of the tea ships, just in time to give his aid to the movement for independence. From 1804 until 1827 he was President of the Massachusetts Bank; and he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth for twelve successive terms, from 1812 to 1823. From his father he inherited a large fortune, which he spent judiciously in the service of the public. At a later date he was one of the most liberal benefactors of Phillips Academy. Mr. Phillips was a domestic man, fond of retirement and quiet leisure. He married September 13, 1774, Miriam Mason, of Boston, by whom he had seven children.

other prominent citizens on horseback, he passed near the Old South Church and up the turnpike (now known as School Street) to the Phillips Mansion House, then a comparatively new residence. Here he was entertained by Madame Phœbe Phillips and her husband, who, it will be remembered, had been intimately associated with Washington in 1775, while Boston was under siege. In the afternoon the President held an informal reception on horseback in the training-field, the open lawn in front of the present Treasurer's house. When this ceremony was over, he and his party rode down the lane now called Phillips Street, over the Wilmington Road to the battlefield of Lexington. The moment General Washington left that southeast room in the Mansion House Madame Phillips tied a strip of ribbon on the chair which he had occupied, and there it remained until the day of his death, when she substituted for it a band of crape. This chair is now in the possession of Andover Theological Seminary.

On October 8, 1793, Pemberton, whose health had broken under the strain of his responsibilities, proposed his resignation to the Trustees, who, in consideration of his illness, appointed for him a second assistant, Mr. Abiel Abbot. After waiting two months in the hope that Pemberton might possibly be able to return to his duties, the Board, on December 24, 1793, accepted his withdrawal, and added a resolution in which they recognized the "ability, attention, and fidelity" which he had displayed in office.

There is something rather mysterious about Pem-

berton's departure. He could not have been seriously incapacitated, for in the following autumn he was established as Principal of a school in Billerica, where he taught until 1810. On October 2, 1796, John Phillips, of Andover, wrote to his mother, Madame Phœbe Phillips: —

> It seems as if Mr. Pemberton were determined to injure our family and the academy as much as possible. I suppose that he has now thoughts of making his office at Billerica hereditary.

Two months later, on December 4, 1796, Pemberton married Miss Elizabeth Whitewell, of Salem. Everything indicates that he left Andover mainly because he had incurred the displeasure of Judge Phillips, probably because of some love affair which did not satisfy the Phillips family.

Unlike Eliphalet Pearson, who ultimately returned to Andover and who never severed his connection with Phillips Academy, Pemberton apparently broke off all relations with the town; from the day of his departure he is not mentioned in the Academy *Records*. In 1810 he opened a small private school in Boston, and succeeded in obtaining about a score of pupils. General H. K. Oliver, who was for a short period his pupil there, has described him in eulogistic terms: —

> A man he was of the most refined and graceful manners; dignified, yet courteous in demeanor, pleasant of speech, accurate in language, pure in thought and life, conscientious in all he said and did, presenting himself to my memory as a living model of a Christian gentleman and godly man.

We have this picture of him from another source: —

His dress was that of the last century: a full-skirted, single-breasted, collarless coat, long & full vest, breeches with knee buckles & long stockings, with buckled shoes, the buckles some 6 by 3 inches — or thereabouts — a powdered wig, with queue, adorned or disadorned his head.

About 1825 his increasing infirmities forced him to abandon teaching. Although he had a son and two daughters, they were for some reason unable to be of much assistance to him, and he was entirely without resources; fortunately some of his grateful pupils came to the rescue and paid him an annuity during the rest of his life. He died June 25, 1835, at the age of eighty-nine.

When we estimate his long career as a whole, we must confess that he fell just short of success. Faithful, industrious, and conscientious he undoubtedly was, and his personality left a delightful impression on those who sat under his instruction. In his temperament he was

Sweet, unaggressive, tolerant, most humane; —

but he lacked some quality which might have made him great as man and teacher. For this failure his weakness of body may have been partly accountable; but it is even more likely that some supersensitiveness, some want of force and self-assertion, may have kept him from attaining that rank to which his ability in other respects entitled him. As Principal of Phillips Academy he performed valuable service, but he was never fully praised during his period of labor, and his last days were a pathetic end for a life of sacrifice.

For a few months Phillips Academy was placed in charge of Abiel Abbot [1] (1770–1828), a young man who had just finished a year of teaching at the Phillips Exeter Academy, and of Mark Newman, who had been made an assistant in 1793. On July 7, 1794, the Trustees voted to offer Abbot one hundred and twenty pounds a year if he would accept the position of Principal, even for only six months; and, if he refused, to propose the same office to Newman, with a salary of one hundred pounds. Abbot declined, and Newman, on July 23, 1794, accepted the Principalship.

In his farewell address to the Senior Class on July 6, 1794, Abbot painted a melancholy picture of our American colleges. Assuming that his auditors were all going to Harvard, he warned them of the future: —

> You are now about commencing the most perilous period of your lives, a period in which every passion unfriendly to virtue will be excited; every temptation dangerous to morals will be set before you; and every act calculated to mislead will be practiced upon you. You are going to act a part upon a stage where wrong ideas and false principles have great influence. . . . You will sail upon a Sea whose surface is beautiful and tempting, but dangerous rocks and quicksands lurk beneath.

He was especially severe in condemning trips to Boston: —

> Seldom visit the Capital; it is dangerous ground, par-

[1] Abiel Abbot, who was an Andover boy, graduated from Phillips Academy in 1788, and from Harvard in 1792. After leaving the School in 1794, he studied divinity with Jonathan French, became a pastor at Haverhill (1795–1803) and at Beverly (1803–28), and died on a return voyage from Cuba in 1828. He wrote *Letters from Cuba* and *Sermons to Mariners.*

ticularly if you hunt for pleasure in it. Town pleasures, like forbidden fruit, are tempting to the senses, but the most innocent of them have a mixture of deadly poison.

It is gratifying to know that he accepted in 1821 the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the college whose temptations he had so luridly portrayed.

In 1794 Dr. John Phillips, aware that his growing infirmities would soon render him incapable of covering the thirty miles between Exeter and Andover, resigned his office as President, and was succeeded on July 7 by his only surviving brother, the Honorable William Phillips, of Boston. Dr. Phillips died suddenly on April 21, 1795, and an eloquent memorial sermon, eulogizing him and the members of his family, was preached at Andover a few weeks later by the Reverend Jonathan French.

The Reverend William Symmes resigned from the Board in 1795, "chiefly on account of the increasing failure of his sense of hearing." To fill the vacancies three new members were elected, all distinguished men; the Reverend Jedediah Morse (1761–1826), an eminent clergyman of Charlestown, known as "the father of American geography," but better remembered as the father of Samuel F. B. Morse, P. A. 1805; Samuel Abbot (1732–1812), a Boston business man living in Andover, who later endowed Andover Theological Seminary; and Jacob Abbot [1] (1746–1820), a partner of Judge Phillips in the management

[1] Jacob Abbot, who was born in Andover, March 22, 1746, and who returned there in 1791 after prospering as a manufacturer in Wilton, New Hampshire, lived after 1802 in Brunswick, Maine. He was the father of Jacob and John S. C. Abbott, the authors, and the great-grandfather of Dr. Lyman Abbott.

of the Hill store. On July 7, 1795, Nehemiah Abbot, who had acted nominally as Treasurer since 1778, asked for compensation for his services, but his request was denied. Two months later, when he was voted four hundred dollars, he resigned his office, feeling that this tardy and paltry remuneration was but shabby treatment. He was succeeded as Treasurer by Judge Oliver Wendell, who held the place until 1803.

In 1794 the Honorable William Phillips transferred to the Trustees ten shares in Andover Bridge, the money to be used "for the purpose of aiding the education of Youths of serious and promising capacities, who need pecuniary aid." By the terms of the will of Dr. John Phillips the school was made a legatee to the extent of one third of the residue of his estate, and it was specified that it should be employed "for the benefit more especially of Charity scholars, such as may be of excelling genius and of good moral character, preferring the hopefully *pious*." This legacy, soon consolidated with Dr. Phillips's larger donation of 1789, amounted to over seven thousand dollars. Gifts of this kind show how well established was the idea that it was part of the Academy plan to assist poor but deserving boys. Phillips Academy was becoming more prosperous. Thanks to the generosity of the Phillips family it was acquiring funds which were to prove of inestimable value at a later period.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE UNDER MARK NEWMAN

> Surely never did there live on earth
> A man of kindlier nature. The rough sports
> And teasing ways of children vexed not him;
> Indulgent listener was he to the tongue
> Of garrulous age; nor did the sick man's tale
> To his fraternal sympathy addressed,
> Obtain reluctant hearing.

Mark Newman, the third Principal, was not an impressive figure. Kind, affable, and popular with his associates, he was neither feeble nor dangerous, but he lacked both the virility of Pearson and the intellectual distinction of Ebenezer Pemberton. He was an eminently respectable gentleman of engaging manners, but deficient in qualities of leadership and without the capacity for meeting extraordinary situations. Coming into office when he was but a careless boy, with little real experience as either teacher or administrator, he did his best to fill the place of his predecessors. That he failed to maintain their standard is not remarkable; the real wonder is that, in his hands, the school did not lose itself irrevocably. His nephew, Wendell Phillips, in passing judgment on him, gave him credit for many fine characteristics: —

> Most men thought Newman too easy and contented in his mood. . . . Except for this matter of a too easy disposition I should have willingly offered him to any who doubted the practical value of the old New England creed, as a test of that faith in making an honest, just, liberal, and

public-spirited man, pure in heart, fair in his judgment of others, and as perfect as the lot of humanity admits in the discharge of social and civil duties.

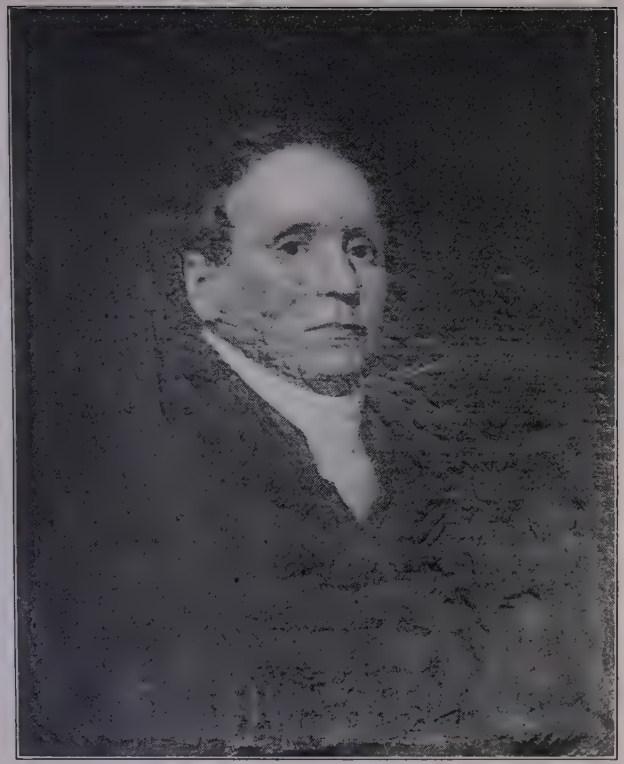
It was this "too easy disposition" which unfitted him for the position of Principal, and which later involved him, through no extravagance of his own, in financial embarrassment. His personality was attractive, but his dignity was a little too unruffled, his calmness a trifle too serene.

Mark Newman, the son of Samuel Newman and Hannah Hastings, was born September 7, 1772, at Ipswich. He prepared for college under the famous Benjamin Abbot at the newly founded Phillips Exeter Academy, and was thus the only graduate of Exeter hitherto to become Principal at Andover.[1] While in Exeter, he was assisted by Dr. John Phillips, who, knowing him to be poor, gave him employment for his spare hours and made him an inmate of his household. Newman was an exceedingly handsome youth, with a personal magnetism which won him many friends. It was said of him, too, that he was not ashamed to work.

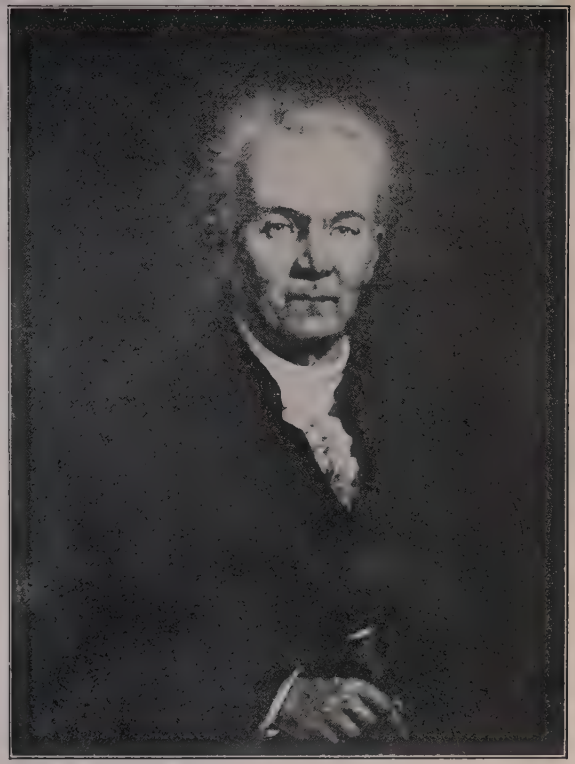
> He early gained the power to pay
> His cheerful, self-reliant way.

Through Dr. Phillips's advice and aid he went to Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1793. On July 5 of that year he was appointed an assistant at Phillips Academy at a salary of three pounds,

[1] Three Andover graduates — Dr. Benjamin Abbot, Dr. Albert C. Perkins, and Mr. Charles E. Fish — have been Principals of the Phillips Exeter Academy. The present Principal, Lewis Perry, attended Andover for one term.



MARK NEWMAN



SAMUEL FARRAR, Esquire

twelve shillings a month, and board. He had originally intended to become a clergyman, but this new opportunity altered his plans. At Andover he became intimate with John Phillips, Judge Phillips's son, and, because of this friendship, he was allowed to have rooms in the Mansion House. Newman, who may have been somewhat spoiled by good fortune, was an imaginative and romantic young man, with an attitude towards life best described as "sophomoric." A characteristic passage may be quoted from a letter written November 14, 1793, to John Phillips, then a student at Harvard: —

Last evening I attempted to write a few lines and was interrupted. Your mama's desire with my own inclination induces me to make a second attempt. The evening is far spent and imagination dull.

However I can probably form an idea of your happiness while puzzling your pate with the dry problems of Euclid and loading your memory with the dialects of Homer. You are wishing and expecting happier days. Don't be too confident, lest the object at which you are grasping shall prove a delusive shadow. Let us, like rational beings, enjoy the present, and lay aside anxiety concerning the events of to-morrow.

I enjoy as much happiness as I ought to expect, considering the disturbed nature of this ocean of life. In addition to the happiness which Miss Sally communicates, we have another young lady in the family who is by no means devoid of merit. Your hon'd parents are well. In walking the fields of science that you may crop the best of every flower is the sincere wish of Your friend and humble servant.

The "Miss Sally" here mentioned was Sally Phillips, sister of the Honorable John Phillips, of Boston.

Newman married Miss Phillips in 1795, and Judge Phillips, who was her second cousin, later stood as godfather for their eldest son, Samuel Phillips Newman.

Doubtless Newman's affiliations with the Phillips family helped to secure for him his election as Principal. Newman was also approbated as a preacher, and frequently supplied pulpits in the vicinity, especially at the Old South when Mr. French was ill or absent.

Shortly after his marriage Newman moved into the old Abbot House on Phillips Street, which Pemberton had left a short time before. His salary of one hundred and fifty pounds a year was considered fairly liberal; but within a few months he presented to the Trustees a petition, with the general tone of which that body has since had ample opportunity to become familiar: —

> Considering the high price of the necessities of life my salary proves insufficient for the support of my family; if therefore it should be the pleasure of the Honorable Board to make some addition, such a favor will be gratefully acknowledged.

In recognition of the justice of this appeal the Trustees promptly voted him the extra sum of one hundred dollars, "on account of the present advanced prices of the necessaries of life." This annual grant was continued until 1802, when it was raised to two hundred dollars; in 1805 it was increased to three hundred dollars and in 1806 to four hundred dollars, at which sum it remained until the coming of a new Principal. It is interesting to notice the gradual introduction of

the decimal system of dollars and cents in place of the English pounds and pence. As late as 1797 bills were made out to pupils in terms of shillings, although the newer coinage was everywhere in use.

The policy of admitting to the Academy very young boys had, after a fair trial, proved to be rather unsatisfactory. In 1796 Mr. William Foster, Jr., asked permission of the Trustees to start a school "for instructing youth in reading, writing, orthography, the english grammar and arithmetic, for the purpose of qualifying them for admission into Phillips Academy." Mr. Foster, who was described in the *Records* as "a person of good morals and exemplary deportment, & well calculated to take the charge of, & instruct youth," obtained the desired sanction, and accordingly opened his establishment in the Foster homestead (now Mr. Homer Foster's farmhouse) on Central Street, and maintained it successfully for nearly twenty years. At times there were in attendance there over twenty-five boys, most of whom later entered Phillips Academy.

The plan of working through the year with only six weeks of vacation doubtless appealed to the strenuous Pearson, but his successors were ready to sympathize with complaints from the boys. In 1791 a new schedule was arranged providing for four vacation periods: two of a fortnight each, one of three weeks, and one of a week. This arrangement was modified in 1796 so that the vacations came as follows: two weeks, beginning the second Wednesday in July; two weeks, beginning the third Wednesday in October; two weeks, beginning the second Wednesday

in January; and two weeks, beginning the third Wednesday in April. School was regularly held on both Thanksgiving and Christmas Days, and also during the greater part of the summer, now considered too hot for effective work. Vacations to-day cover approximately twice the length of time allowed in 1796.

The Academy Exhibitions had by 1796 become important occasions in the school year. The first Exhibition held at Phillips Academy took place April 20, 1779, and is recorded as follows: —

> In the afternoon the Trustees visited the school, examined their writing, heard them construe and parse — & speak several pieces in english, & perform an excellent piece of musick.

A similar event, May 22, 1782, is mentioned briefly: —

> The Trustees visited the Academy, where the scholars exhibited a specimen of their writing, of their proficiency in the latin and greek languages, & in the art of speaking.

The programme gradually took a form corresponding roughly to our modern Commencement exercises; and before the construction of the new Academy gave the school a spacious hall, the Exhibitions were held in the South Parish meeting-house. Naturally the performances varied in quality. On July 3, 1792, Judge Phillips wrote apologetically to his son John: —

> Mr. Pemberton says the Exhibition will be *quite lean.* You will remember, if any one should talk of coming from college, to tell them that it is proposed to be only a private Exhibition.

At the exercises in 1795 little Samuel Phillips,

Judge Phillips's younger son, spoke Cowper's "I am monarch of all I survey."

In general the Exhibitions seem to have aroused only favorable comment until 1798, when, at a gathering immediately after the ceremonies, the Trustees voted: —

That a reform in our Exhibitions be attempted by rendering them less theatrical, more sentimental, to consist more of single pieces, and the exercises not to exceed the limits of two hours.

In 1800 their disapprobation took the form of a resolution forbidding any public Exhibition for that year. Apparently the offensive features still persisted, for we find in the *Records* for August 19, 1806, the following entry: —

Voted, that the time allowed to the exercises should not exceed one hour and a half, and the pieces consist wholly of single speeches and dialogues not theatrical.

Samuel Phillips [1] (1801–77), son of Colonel John Phillips, gives an account of the Exhibition of 1809:—

The attendance at the Exhibitions used to be very large — and on one occasion I remember the scene was enlivened by music. And such Music! We had no brass or brigade band in those days; and so a sturdy member of the school, one Abijah Cross, performing on a bass viol, and Henry B. Pearson (son of the professor, an incipient flute player) combined their power, and entertained the audience with "Roslyn Castle" and "O dear! what can the matter be?"

[1] Samuel Phillips, born May 8, 1801, in North Andover, graduated from Harvard in 1819, taught in Phillips Academy from 1819 to 1822, and studied in Harvard Law School until 1825. He was later a Bank Commissioner and President of the Brighton Bank. He married October 23, 1827, Sally Swett, of Boxford, by whom he had four children.

No programmes of these early Exhibitions are in the Academy archives; but it requires little effort of the imagination to picture them as like the old-fashioned speaking contests, where boys declaimed in dramatic style favorites drawn from the *Columbian Orator* and other popular collections. Now and then a more serious note was introduced by an address delivered by some prominent clergyman; such a talk, given by the Reverend Jedediah Morse at the Exhibition in 1799, was afterwards printed by request of the Trustees.

Singing, both solo and chorus, diversified the programme, although we hear of no teacher of music until 1795, when Ichabod Johnson was engaged to provide instruction in that subject. Johnson, who had been a fifer in the Revolutionary army, had only a short career on Andover Hill, for his lessons in the old first Academy were accompanied by wild disorder, including the breaking of nearly every window in the building. On November 30, 1795, the Committee of Exigencies voted to dispense with Johnson's services, and he retired to another less tumultuous community. Other singing masters, however, took up his task, and with better success.

Throughout Newman's administration the Trustees, conscious, perhaps, of his weakness, continued to interfere frequently and often ostentatiously with the discipline of the school. A committee was appointed in 1797 "to adopt such measures, as shall appear to them expedient for the reformation of idle boys belonging to the Academy." On July 3, 1800, a mysterious entry appears: —

Voted, that the Scholars be prohibited from exercising themselves in any wheel, called a federal balloon, fandango, or by any other name.

Students were forbidden, it seems, to put locks on their trunks and boxes. In 1805, as a result of a drowning accident in the Shawsheen River, the Trustees appointed a committee to secure a suitable bathing-place for the boys during the hot summer season. In 1808 Newman was requested to prevent the shopkeepers in town from giving credit to the students on the Hill.

For some reason impossible to ascertain the school, "because of the disorder prevalent at present in Andover," was shut down on February 10, 1796, for four full weeks. It is not apparent whether this "disorder" was an epidemic of disease, or a heightened public feeling due to our involved relations with France and England. Later, as a result of the excitement aroused by the revelations of the "X.Y.Z. papers," the Trustees, on May 25, 1798, passed a resolution recommending the students, "considering the present state of our public affairs," to form a militia company, and to admit to it town boys of "good character."

The changes in the equipment during this period were only of a minor sort. In 1799 new seats were built in the Academy building, and an additional alley was made on each side of the center aisle; in 1802 a door, with a covered porch, was constructed at the eastern end. The Trustees on January 9, 1804, sent a fulsome letter to Madame Phillips, thanking her for a "large and elegant clock," and also for "four green window blinds for the school room; for

sundry articles of stationary [*sic*] for the use of the Trustees; & also for painting one room & staircase in the house occupied by the Preceptor." In 1805 the small Academy library, started by Newman about 1796, was placed in alcoves and shelves put up on the north side of the school building, and Samuel Farrar, Esq., was appointed librarian.

Andover Hill had not changed greatly in the thirty years after 1778. Morse's *Geography* (1803) says of Phillips Academy: "It is encompassed with a salubrious air, and commands an extensive prospect." To the south, on the Woburn–Boston Road, Madame Phillips had as her nearest neighbor Moses Abbot, who dwelt in the old red house once occupied by Judge Phillips; to the north lived Joseph Phelps, who carried on a store and boarded Academy boys in the house which had just been built by Judge Phillips on the south corner of Main and Phillips Streets. Between this place and the Old South Church, along the "meeting-house road," there was not a single building. The site of Abbot Academy was then a woodlot. The present Main Street to the village was not yet opened; and there was no road to the east of the Campus lawn. On Salem Street stood the "Blunt Tavern," erected by Captain Isaac Blunt before 1765. A portion of the present Hardy House, then occupied by Captain Towne, was standing on the same site on Salem Street; and across the road from it to the north was the home of Deacon Amos Blanchard, who took boys as boarders. To the south of the Academy building stretched a level lawn used as a training-field for the town militia.

The most impressive local event of Newman's administration was probably the funeral of Judge Samuel Phillips, which took place on February 15, 1802. At the services in the Old South Church the Reverend Jonathan French offered prayer, and the Reverend David Tappan, Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, delivered the sermon. In the long procession the students of Phillips Academy were followed by the Trustees of the two Phillips schools at Andover and Exeter. The pallbearers were the Governor, three of his Council, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. The body was interred in the Phillips tomb in the adjacent cemetery. Dr. John L. Taylor, in his *Memoir of Judge Phillips*, describes the scene: —

> The immense concourse, the presence of so many distinguished civilians, the universal sensibility, and the impressive exercises with which her favorite son was then laid in the tomb made this a memorable day to Andover; such as she had never seen before and will never see again.

The tone of all the speakers was that of sincere eulogy. Dr. Tappan in his address said of his dead classmate: —

> His fervent and uniform piety, his upright and zealous devotion to every private and public duty, prompted and strengthened by large capacities for usefulness, rendered him a distinguished ornament and pillar both of the church and commonwealth.

In a sermon preached at Boston, February 10, 1802, the Reverend Thomas Baldwin, Chaplain of the House, referred to Judge Phillips as "the accurate

scholar, the enlightened statesman, the accomplished gentleman, and the exemplary Christian." Long afterward, in 1855, Josiah Quincy, then an octogenarian, wrote of Judge Phillips: —

> I can truly say that I have never met, through my whole life, with an individual in whom the spirit of Christianity and of goodwill to mankind was so naturally and beautifully blended with an indomitable energy and enterprise in active life.

By a donation of $1000 made on December 12, 1801, Judge Phillips had provided for the distribution of religious books among the citizens of Andover, one stipulation being that Dr. Doddridge's *Address to the Master of a Family on Family Religion* should be given "to every young man who may be about to enter into the family state." A second gift of $4000, bequeathed to the Trustees on January 27, 1802, had two aims: the improvement of female schoolteachers in Andover and the distribution of Bibles and religious treatises to "poor and pious Christians" elsewhere and to "the inhabitants of new towns and plantations." The main object of these bequests, in Phillips's own words, was "the preservation of the essential and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel, as professed by our pious ancestors, the first settlers of New England, and of such writings as are consentaneous thereto." The fund thus created has been for more than a century administered in various ways by the Trustees with increasingly solicitous care for the Founder's "fear that the object of this donation will be totally frustrated." The fund for Andover teachers and for Andover young husbands

is now, by permission of the Supreme Court, used for suitable books for the Andover and North Andover public libraries. The "inhabitants of new towns" are represented to-day by the new inhabitants of old towns, and to them the Massachusetts Bible Society (of which His Honor William Phillips was the first President) supplies "Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters" at the expense of the fund. Aside from these benefactions the bulk of Judge Phillips's fortune was left to his wife and son.

Since 1796, when his uncle, the Honorable William Phillips, had resigned as President of the Board, Judge Phillips had performed the duties of that office; he was succeeded by Eliphalet Pearson, elected August 17, 1802, who, as Judge Phillips's nearest friend, could be trusted to continue the Academy in accordance with the ideas of the Founders. The deaths of Judge Phillips and the Honorable John Lowell in 1802, and the resignations of the Honorable William Phillips and Jacob Abbot at about the same time, left several vacancies on the Board. In 1801 Colonel John Phillips was elected, and a year later the Honorable John Phillips, of Boston, was added to the number. Josiah Quincy was chosen in 1802, and the list was made complete by the election of Samuel Farrar, first as Trustee, and, in 1803, as Treasurer in place of Judge Oliver Wendell. On January 15, 1804, the Honorable William Phillips, the last of the three notable brothers, died in Boston, "in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor." In a codicil to his will he left to Phillips Academy the sum of $4000, as a fund for "indigent students." In

his place the Reverend Daniel Dana [1] (1771–1859), then a minister at Newburyport, was elected. His term of office of fifty-two years is likely to be the longest in Academy history.

In his last days Judge Phillips had not been altogether satisfied with the standing of his school, and in his final interview with the Trustees he made a particular request: —

> That a select committee be chosen to meet once in a quarter or oftener, to inquire into the state of the Academy, the proficiency of the scholars, and the conduct of the instructors, that the *core* of the Institution may be attended to.

On November 2, 1802, the first committee of this kind was named, consisting of the Reverend Jonathan French, Samuel Abbot, Colonel John Phillips, Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Morse. Their proceedings and conclusions, preserved systematically in a musty, discolored record book, throw much light on the state of the school under Newman. At their first examination, June 17, 1803, this committee spent three and one-half hours in the morning and the same period in the afternoon in fulfilling their duties. That they took these duties very seriously is proved by the fervor with which they attended to trivialities. On November 8, 1803, for instance, they made a report:—

> Voted, that the Chairman inform the Academy at

[1] Dr. Dana, who was an advanced Calvinist, was to be a thorn in the side of all progressive theologians for many years to come. Born in 1771, he graduated from Dartmouth in 1788, studied divinity, was pastor at Newburyport, 1794–1820, and 1826–45, and resided in that city until his death, August 26, 1859. He was President of Dartmouth college, 1820–21.

large, that to their great satisfaction the Committee have found by a careful examination of the bills for the last fourteen weeks that of the fifty-seven students now present 38 have distinguished themselves by their punctuality, having no mark of tardiness against their names; 31 by their silent attention to business, not being charged with a whisper since the last visitation of the committee; 6 by their correctness in spelling, having made no mistake in that exercise during the same period; and four by their correctness of conduct in general, no mark being found against either of their names upon either of the three bills.

They were not always, however, so lavish in their praise. On November 20, 1804, they passed a vote of a different tenor: —

That Mr. Newman be requested to inform the students at an early period of the next term, that the Committee with regret and disapprobation have noticed the increased number of whispers on the part of a large number of them as appears by the bill. And further that he be requested to use such methods to remedy that evil as he in his wisdom may think best.

Occasionally this committee even passed sentence on offenders. On July 8, 1804, a vote was recorded: —

That ———, having been admonished by the Preceptor at the request of this Committee at a former visitation, for his frequent whispering in the Academy; & not having reformed, but being found upon the bills at this visitation highly charged for the same offense, be consigned to the Rev. Mr. French to be seriously reproved for his continued delinquency; & that six others of the students, being found by the bills to be eminently faulty for whispering in the Academy since the last visitation, be consigned to the Preceptor to be admonished by him for the same.

There is something irresistibly ludicrous in the

spectacle of these stately gentlemen, sitting gravely on these cases of inveterate whispering, and prescribing punishment as if the culprits were a menace to society. A laugh at one of those solemn meetings might perhaps have cleared the atmosphere. Certainly their investigations encroached on Newman's field, and he must have been either very patient or very subservient, to submit to the intrusion.

The question of the quality of the instruction offered in Phillips Academy had for some years been giving concern to the Trustees, and a report of the Select Committee on May 4, 1808, brought the matter to a head. Since the foundation of the school a period of thirty years had elapsed, during which thirty assistants, exclusive of writing-masters, had been employed. Of this number only three had been prevailed upon to continue in office for two years, two others about one and one-half years each, most of them for but one year, and several for a shorter term. The situation is vividly depicted by the committee: —

> With a few exceptions, these Assistants have been immediately transformed from Pupils into Instructors, most of them young and without experience. The natural and necessary consequences have followed. Instantly connected with sixty young strangers, oppressed by a crowd of different occupations, and hurried from one object of instruction to another without intermissions, not weeks only, but months passed away, before the young Preceptor has learned the characters or even the names of all his pupils; and certainly before he has had leisure to renew his acquaintance with authors, or to refresh his mind with the principles of those Arts and Sciences which he is now called to teach; tho', without such previous preparation

even the best scholar will be exposed to frequent mistakes and much embarrassment, to the no small danger of his respectability and usefulness among his pupils. It is indeed a common and voluntary confession of Assistants themselves on leaving the Academy, that they are scarcely qualified to commence their course in it. But even admitted, what can never be expected, that an Assistant, on entering the Academy, is master of the various branches of knowledge taught in it; still he is a stranger to the science of government, and unacquainted with the avenues to the human mind. Happy indeed if he have made any considerable advance in the knowledge and command of himself. Of all arts, that of insinuating instruction in the most pleasing form, and of gaining the ascendency in young minds, is the most difficult, and the last acquired. What then can in reason be expected of a young man, transiently caught, and a few moments detained in the Academy, who never finds his object in his employment, and thro' the day is longing for the hour that will dismiss him to his professional pursuits.

This graphic but veracious description, undoubtedly from the ready pen of Dr. Pearson, seems to have aroused his colleagues, for they soon agreed to engage a "second permanent instructor," whose salary, not more than seven hundred and fifty dollars, should be paid through taxes on the students. It was settled also that "the title of the first Instructor shall be Principal, & that of the second Instructor be Preceptor." The southwest room in the Academy building was at once fitted up as a room for the Preceptor, with a desk for him, and seven rows of seats, divided by an alley in the middle, for the pupils. Provision was also made for a readjustment of the teaching hours: —

That the instruction in the learned languages be so divided between the first and second instructors, that one of them shall be responsible for the correctness and proficiency of the pupils in Latin and the other in Greek. Particular branches of instruction in any other language, in the arts & sciences, and in morality & religion to be in like manner statedly shared between them, as may best comport with the circumstances of the Academy, and with the character and feelings of the Instructors.

The first teacher to be engaged as Preceptor was Mills Day (1783–1812), brother of President Jeremiah Day, of Yale, who, however, remained only one year. As a matter of fact the new system was never put fully into operation, and, under a strong Principal, it was, by common agreement, ignored. In its origin it was certainly a scheme to remove some of the power from Newman's hands, and his resignation made it no longer necessary.

On March 27, 1809, 'Squire Farrar suggested that twelve dollars of the annual income of the sum of four hundred and fifty dollars, which, as his salary for three years as Treasurer, he had presented to the Trustees, should be "expended in prizes among the most meritorious pupils of the Academy, agreeably to such regulations as you may think best adapted to increase attention to the Latin and Greek languages, and to Moral and Religious instruction." Three separate prizes of four dollars each were actually determined upon: one in Latin, one in Greek, and one in religious knowledge. But the Puritan conscience soon began to feel twinges; it seemed wrong to appeal to such motives in the human heart; and finally the Trustees quietly came to the conclusion

"that scholars were sufficiently stimulated in their studies without such an incentive." 'Squire Farrar, not discomfited, added to this so-called "Prize Fund," and asked that the income be devoted to secure a master in the Theory and Practice of Music. It was later increased by the accretion of income and by gifts until it amounted to over $12,000, when it was used to build the Double-Brick House, and afterwards in part for the erection of the Commons dormitories.

We have already hinted that Phillips Academy, after 1805, was steadily declining in numbers and in efficiency. In 1803 there had been fifty-seven boys in the school; in the winter term of 1809 there were only eighteen. This decided falling-off was caused partly by the increased attention which the Trustees gave to the new Andover Theological Seminary, but far more by the fact that Newman was not the man to command the confidence of parents. His dependence on the Select Committee is merely one sign of his lack of force; a strong personality, like Pearson or John Adams, would never have submitted peacefully to the restrictions imposed by that body, or would have made them unnecessary. Newman himself recognized that his abilities were better displayed in other occupations, and, on August 22, 1809, sent in his resignation, assigning as a reason the fact that the labors and responsibilities of the office were a burden which the state of his health did not permit him longer to sustain. His resignation deprived him automatically of his place on the Board of Trustees; but he was at once reëlected to fill the vacancy caused by the death

on July 22, 1809, of the veteran Jonathan French. At the same time Newman was made Clerk of the Board, and held that position until 1836. Although they did distrust him as a teacher, the Trustees seem to have regarded highly his judgment and helpful counsel.

Newman lived in Andover during the remainder of his long career. In 1811 he built a new house, the handsome residence now occupied by the Treasurer, and on an adjacent lot to the south he erected a store, a square, ugly building where he kept a miscellaneous assortment of small wares. General Oliver well remembered "running up a bill" of thirty-one cents for writing-books at that store. In 1818, having fallen into financial difficulties, he exchanged his residence on the Hill for the house and estate of Samuel Abbot, Esq., on Central Street. He then, at a store in the town, built up a fairly lucrative business as bookseller and publisher of religious treatises. From 1811 until 1845 he was a Deacon in the South Church; and he was, in 1818, the first Superintendent of its Sunday-School. In 1829 he gave an acre of land for the site of Abbot Academy, and he was President of the Board of Trustees of that institution from its foundation until 1843. He was still alive, a venerable gentleman of eighty-six, at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Andover Theological Seminary in 1859. He died June 15, 1859, in a house which once stood where Christ Church is now located but which has since been moved to a site down the hill towards the railroad station. The funeral sermon, preached by the Reverend George Mooar, was afterwards published.

Newman was a small, handsome man, with fine delicate features. He was slow of thought and speech, deliberate in manner, and often shy and sensitive. Some people still recall him in his old age as "a man of mild and gentle character," feeble, decidedly deaf, but rich in entertaining reminiscences of a bygone generation. An occasional Andover resident remembers his little bookstore on the second floor of a Main Street business block, where he moved in leisurely fashion among piles of yellow pamphlets and dull tracts. He was a fanatical teetotaler, with a propensity to lecture on the spot those whom he saw in any way affected by liquor. To various charities he was, in proportion to his means, a liberal donor. In the important movements started in the Andover of his time he had a share, although never as a leader. He was one of the group of seven which used to assemble in Dr. Porter's study, and which organized the American Tract Society, the Temperance Society, the American Education Society, and other associations. It has been said of him that he had no vices; indeed, he was genuinely *pious*, in the sense in which that much-abused word was employed seventy-five years ago. His memory will live, if not because of his own merit, at any rate because of the famous men whose friend he was.

The period of the first three Principals might well be treated as a single topic, because it was a time of organization and construction. At the close of Newman's administration the Founders had all died; but Phillips Academy had certainly justified its existence. During these thirty-two years 1031 students

had entered the school: 263 under Pearson, 270 under Pemberton, and 498 under Newman. The average entering class in each year was slightly under 33 for Pearson, about 30 for Pemberton, and over 33 for Newman. Despite the vicissitudes which invariably occur in any institution the attendance had, on the whole, been remarkably even. The largest registration had come in 1804, when 52 entered. After that date the numbers had gradually declined, until in 1809 only 16 candidates presented themselves, the smallest group since 1779.

According to the most complete available statistics Pearson sent 89 boys to college, Pemberton, 84, and Newman, 198. This entire number was about one third of all the pupils registered in the Academy during that period. Harvard was then the popular college with Phillips alumni. In Pearson's time 76 out of 89, in Pemberton's 76 out of 84, went on to Harvard. Of the 198 of Newman's pupils who continued work in college, 150 selected Harvard, 17 Dartmouth, and 13 Yale. This trend towards Harvard is readily explained by the fact that Phillips Academy had been founded by Harvard men, and that most of the Trustees up to 1820 had close associations with that college. The Academy, furthermore, was then largely local in its patronage, and the majority of the boys, being New England born and bred, were familiar with the history and traditions of the Cambridge university.

It is not easy for us to-day to conceive of the provincial nature of Phillips Academy at this early period. The attendance, as has been pointed out,

was almost entirely from New England, mainly from Boston and vicinity. Of the fifty-two boys admitted in 1804, an average year, forty-two were from Massachusetts, and only two came from outside New England. Of the sixteen who entered in 1809, all were from New England, and all but three from Massachusetts. In this state of affairs there was, of course, nothing unusual. It was hardly to be expected that parents, in the days before railroads and steamboats, would care to entrust their children to schools at a distance from their homes.

To one family, however, the poor transportation facilities seem to have presented no obstacle. General Washington had so much confidence in Judge Phillips and his theories of education that he induced several of his relatives to come to Phillips Academy. The first to arrive was Howell Lewis,[1] son of Washington's favorite sister Elizabeth, or "Betty," who, in 1785, at the age of thirteen, was registered from Fredericksburg, Virginia. Ten years later, in 1795, Colonel William Augustine Washington, a nephew of the President, came with his wife from their estate at Haywood, Westmoreland County, Virginia, in order to enter their two sons, Augustine,[2] aged fifteen, and Bushrod,[3] aged ten. The President

[1] Howell Lewis later became private secretary to the President, inherited some of his property, and died in Virginia in 1822.

[2] Augustine, who roomed with his brother at Mr. French's, had a tendency toward tuberculosis, and finally, after making his way home from Andover, died in 1798.

[3] Bushrod Washington graduated at Harvard, married Henrietta Bryan Spottswood, of Virginia, and settled down as a farmer. He was given by his uncle, Judge Bushrod Washington, a large share of the Mount Vernon estate, which he named Mount Zephyr; there he built a

himself gave to Colonel Washington a letter of introduction to General Lincoln, asking for his good offices in helping to place the boys at Andover. Two other grandnephews of General Washington also arrived in the same year: Cassius Lee,[1] aged sixteen, and Francis Lightfoot Lee,[2] aged thirteen, sons of Washington's niece, Mildred, who had married Thomas Lee, son of Richard Henry Lee, the patriot. Thomas Lee, in corresponding with Judge Phillips, wrote with regard to his son Cassius: —

> One of my principal inducements in sending him and his brother so far from Virginia and their friends, was that they might be brought up in the purest principles of religion, morality, and virtue.

Still other members of the Washington family arrived in 1803: George Corbin Washington,[3] the youngest son of Colonel William Augustine Washington; and three brothers from another branch. Richard Henry Lee Washington, John Augustine Washington,[4] and Bushrod Corbin Washington, sons of Corbin Washington, the President's nephew, and

home for his bride. He died at this house in November, 1830. He had twelve children, the youngest of whom, Mrs. Fanny Washington Finch, visited Andover in 1887, and was shown Mr. French's parsonage, where her father had lived while in school.

[1] Cassius Lee died in 1798, while a Princeton undergraduate. He and his brother lived with Judge Phillips at the Mansion House.

[2] Francis Lightfoot Lee graduated from Harvard in 1802, and died in Virginia in 1850.

[3] George Corbin Washington graduated with a brilliant record at Harvard, and was later Congressman from Maryland and President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company; he died in 1854 at Georgetown, D.C.

[4] John Augustine Washington eventually inherited the estate of Mount Vernon from Judge Washington, and lived there until his death in 1832.

grandchildren of Richard Henry Lee. Judge Bushrod Washington was the legal guardian of these boys, who lived with him at Mount Vernon when they were not in school. Bushrod C. Washington, a descendant of the youngest brother, wrote in 1879: —

I have no doubt the reason these brothers were sent to Andover, Massachusetts, was because of the respect Judge Washington had for Governor Phillips's memory, and the friendship that had existed between General Washington and Governor Phillips.

In all, then, one nephew and eight grandnephews of General Washington were educated at Phillips Academy.[1]

Only two graduates of the school in Newman's time became figures of national importance: Samuel Finley Breese Morse [2] (1791–1872), the inventor of the electric telegraph; and Joseph Emerson Worcester [3] (1784–1865), the lexicographer.

[1] For a full account of the Washington family in Phillips Academy, see the *Phillips Bulletin*, October, 1914.

[2] Samuel F. B. Morse, eldest of the eleven children of the Reverend Jedediah Morse, a Trustee of the Academy, was sent to Andover in 1799 at the age of eight, but was so homesick that he ran back home to Charlestown. In 1802, however, he entered again, and graduated in 1805. After graduating from Yale in 1810 Morse distinguished himself as a painter, but gained even greater fame after the success of his telegraph in 1844. He died April 2, 1872. At the first dinner of the Boston Alumni in 1886 Dr. William A. Mowry presented to the Trustees a portrait of Samuel F. B. Morse painted by Thomas Hicks, of New York. This portrait now hangs in the Academy library.

[3] Joseph Emerson Worcester, born in Bedford, New Hampshire, August 24, 1784, was one of a family of fifteen children, fourteen of whom became teachers, and six of whom attended Phillips Academy. He came to Andover in 1805, graduated in 1807, and graduated from Yale in 1811. While teaching in Salem, he prepared his *Geographical Dictionary*, which was printed at Andover in 1817. His *Dictionary*

During all this early period the simple curriculum devised by Pearson had remained substantially unchanged. All work was built around the four essential subjects: Latin, Greek, mathematics, and religious instruction. Newman had arranged in addition for regular drill in writing and sacred music. Elementary geography, arithmetic, and Greek and Roman history made their appearance before the opening of the new century. The admission requirements, based on the statement in the Constitution, "None shall be admitted till in common parlance they can read English well," were not severe. Samuel Phillips, Judge Phillips's grandson, reported that his oral entrance examination before Principal Newman was remarkably easy. On the whole the policy of the Trustees had been conservative, in conformity with the wishes of the Founders.

As we attempt, on the basis of contemporary descriptions, to reproduce the school of Newman's day, we are likely to be struck by its simplicity. There were no dormitories or eating-houses, noisy with student restlessness and energy; there were no societies, either literary or social, and no school publications; there was no Abbot Academy, for the convenience and entertainment of the "fusser." Although there was some interest in outdoor games, there were no organized teams. Exeter was a remote village, of which Andover men seldom heard, and with which there could be no possible rivalry. The boys at Andover were not little prigs; they played mis-

appeared in 1846, and was later revised. He died in Cambridge, October 27, 1865.

chievous pranks upon one another, and spent many happy hours on warm summer afternoons in the cool waters of Pomp's Pond, or along the wooded banks of the Shawsheen. On the whole, however, their opportunities for diversion were fewer than those which exist to-day, and their life was much more monotonous. Largely because of their home environment and their strict early training, most of the boys were less sophisticated than their successors of the twentieth century; they regarded school, not merely as a pleasant interlude, but as a part of life's real business. It was a time when education was taken seriously.

As for Phillips Academy, it had earned an excellent reputation, even outside scholastic circles. Its teaching was said to be thorough, and its graduates had done the school credit. A reasonably safe foundation had been constructed on which future Masters could build an institution which should expand until it was not local, but national; not Puritan, but American.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUNDING OF ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

GREAT men have been among us; hands that penn'd
And tongues that utter'd wisdom — better none.

THE Andover Theological Seminary, founded in 1808, was in certain respects an outgrowth of Phillips Academy, and was administered for a full century by the same Board of Trustees. For this reason, and for others which will become more apparent, it is necessary to speak briefly of the circumstances which led to the establishment of this, the first institution in the United States founded solely for the training of clergymen. The Seminary, like the Academy, fitted in with the Phillips scheme of education, which aimed at "the promotion of true Piety and Virtue." The success of the Seminary, however, was not altogether beneficial to the fortunes of Phillips Academy, for the newer school, heavily endowed, provided with imposing buildings and distinguished professors, soon overshadowed the parent institution; and the Trustees, who were, for the most part, more deeply concerned over the elucidation of a point in a creed than over obscure constructions in Latin and Greek grammar, naturally allowed the interests of the Academy to become subordinate. Nevertheless, the presence of the eminent men on the Seminary Faculty was an inspiration to townspeople and students, and the departure of the Seminary for Cambridge in 1908 was, in

THE STONE ACADEMY AND THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN 1840

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN 1880

spite of the apparent advantage derived by Phillips Academy, really a distinct loss to the Hill.

In the Constitution of Phillips Academy a passage, probably inserted after the body of that document had been drawn up, provides for instruction, not only in the elements of Christianity, but also in the broader features of the Calvinistic system of theology, especially for students planning to enter the ministry. It is improbable that the Founders, at this date, contemplated the establishment of a separate school of divinity; but they were eager to induce as many young men as possible to become clergymen and ready to pay much attention to the training of such pupils. The credit for the first suggestion of a theological institution belongs to the Reverend Jonathan French, who wrote in 1778: —

> The Phillips School has suggested a thought which I have often revolved in my mind. What if some enterprising pious genius should rise up, and set on foot a subscription for founding a Theological Seminary? Suppose the plan well concerted; and *engaged*, as well as *engaging* persons should convey the subscription about, and procure signers, till a sufficient sum be subscribed to raise a building in some central part of the country, sufficient to contain a number of students about equal to the number who annually devote themselves to the study of divinity, and sufficient to provide a handsome support to a president.

At the time nothing came of Mr. French's prophetic dream; but several Academy students pursued theological studies, either during their course in school or afterwards, with ministers in Andover, and particularly with Mr. French, who thus at times maintained

what was almost a small seminary in his own household.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America there were no theological schools with a systematic organization; and young men desirous of becoming ministers were driven to secure their education through a sort of apprenticeship to older clergymen of prominence, who were usually, like Mr. French, willing to lend their help. Dr. Joseph Bellamy, Dr. John Smalley, Dr. Emmons, and a few other New England divines were often sought by students of theology. Other ministers, like the Reverend Samuel Phillips and the Reverend Jonathan French, took parishes soon after leaving college, and received their training in homiletics in the hard school of pulpit experience. At Harvard the Hollis Professor of Divinity was supposed to assist candidates for the ministry, but few took advantage of the opportunity. Dr. Dwight at Yale also undertook to deliver a course of lectures suited to young divinity students. But in no college was there adequate professional instruction of an organized kind for the benefit of prospective clergymen.

At the death of Dr. John Phillips in 1795 it was found that a clause in his will provided for the instruction of pupils in the two academies at Andover and Exeter in the study of divinity, under the direction of "some eminent Calvinistic minister of the Gospel," until a regular Professor of Theology could be employed in those schools. Some correspondence of this period indicates that Mr. French was the testator's choice for this position; at any rate, the

South Parish minister, from about 1796 until 1807, acted as a provisional Professor of Divinity, receiving for his services a small salary from the Academy funds. This amount, fixed none too liberally, in 1795, at forty dollars a year, was increased to sixty dollars in 1802 and to eighty dollars in 1806. More than twenty candidates for the ministry were thus assisted in Andover during the years immediately preceding the opening of the Seminary.

Meanwhile, Samuel Abbot, Esq.[1] (1732–1812), a well-known Andover citizen, had been quietly considering fruitful plans. At the age of nineteen he had become a merchant in Boston, and, at the outbreak of the Revolution, he was able to retire to Andover with a moderate fortune, which, by careful management, he considerably enlarged. Being without children, he had planned to leave his money to one of his wife's relatives, a young man who, however, died before reaching maturity. Abbot, who had become more religious as he grew older, then resolved to devote his property to the education of young men for the Christian ministry. Having been since 1795 a Trustee of Phillips Academy, he was on intimate terms with his colleagues, Dr. Pearson and Dr. Tappan, with both of whom he consulted as to the most satisfactory disposition of the proposed gift. Acting on their advice Abbot, in a will signed May 10,

[1] Samuel Abbot was the son of Captain George Abbot, of Andover, and Mary Phillips, daughter of Samuel Phillips, the Salem goldsmith. Esquire Abbot was thus a second cousin of Esquire Phillips, Dr. John Phillips, and the Honorable William Phillips. In 1792 Esquire Abbot built the handsome colonial house on Central Street now occupied by Mrs. Joseph W. Smith, and lived there until his death in 1812.

1803, made Harvard College his residuary legatee, the money to be used for the support of theological pupils in that institution. When, however, he became convinced two years later that the spirit of Harvard was rapidly moving towards Unitarianism, he made a codicil to his will, June 8, 1805, in which he revoked his former bequest and directed that the entire legacy should be paid to the Trustees of Phillips Academy: "to be appropriated to the support of a Theological Professor in said Academy, of sound, orthodox, Calvinistic principles of divinity, and for the maintenance of students in divinity." It will be noticed that the idea of making his scheme a reality during his own lifetime had apparently not yet occurred to Abbot.

The various projects of this kind in the air during this first decade of the nineteenth century needed only an enthusiastic leader to give them form. Fortunately, such a man appeared in Eliphalet Pearson, who, since his departure for Cambridge in 1786, had made himself a name. His scholarship, displayed in his able revision of a Hebrew grammar and in his studies in Oriental tongues, had met with full appreciation. His enterprise and sagacity had found a field in the multifarious details of college administration. He was applauded as a talented and inspiring teacher. Leonard Woods, one of his pupils at Harvard, said of him: —

> I have ever considered his instructions as constituting at least half of my collegiate education. No other officer in the college had equal influence in promoting improvement in literature, and the higher interest of morality and piety.

In 1800 he was chosen a Fellow of the Corporation; and after the death of President Joseph Willard in September, 1804, Pearson assumed for more than a year the duties of Acting President of the college. Meanwhile Unitarian doctrine had taken a firm root in Cambridge, and the friends of "liberal Christianity" were not unreluctant to assail the more orthodox adherents of Calvinism. When Dr. Tappan, the Hollis Professor of Divinity, died in August, 1803, Dr. Pearson brought on a bitter quarrel in the Corporation by insisting that the next incumbent of that chair should be "of sound orthodox faith" — that is, a strict Calvinist. Notwithstanding Pearson's vigorous opposition the Reverend Henry Ware, well known as an advocate of Unitarian doctrine, was elected in February, 1805, to the vacant professorship. As a climax, Pearson, who was a candidate for the Presidency, was rejected in favor of Professor Webber, who was elected on March 3, 1806. Pearson also found another grievance in the fact that his salary had not been increased in proportion to the additional responsibilities which had fallen to his lot as Acting President. Early in March, therefore, he sent in his resignation as Hancock Professor, stating that, after twenty years of endeavor to improve the literary and religious state of the college, there now remained no reasonable hope of accomplishing the reformation he wished, that the events of the last year had so deeply affected his mind, and spread such a gloom over the university, as to exclude the hope of his rendering any essential service to the interests of religion by continuing his relation to it, and he therefore requested

an acceptance of his resignation. The Corporation willingly allowed him to withdraw, and presented an interesting report in which Pearson's allegations were denied *in toto*. The whole quarrel was a phase of the struggle between Unitarianism and Calvinism, Pearson being the chief advocate of Calvinistic theology.

Pearson's Andover friends did not propose to have him suffer as a martyr for the cause of what was to them the only true religion. The old house on Salem Street, occupied in 1804 by a certain Captain Towne, had been renovated and enlarged after his departure, but no tenant had been secured. On March 20, 1806, the Trustees, having just heard of Pearson's resignation, voted him this house "rent free for one year, in consideration of the long, faithful, and important services he has rendered the Academy from its first institution, & in hope of enjoying his further aid, & future patronage & influence." In this residence, later occupied for many years by Principal John Adams, Pearson lived from 1806 until 1810.

It took only a few weeks for Pearson's aggressive personality to be felt. Believing that Harvard, with its radical doctrines, was no longer fitted to train Congregational ministers and that some powerful institution must be organized to counteract the spread of Unitarian principles, he introduced the topic of a theological seminary for discussion among his friends. As early as July 10, 1806, a meeting, attended by seven men, was held at the Mansion House; the subject of a "Theological School" was talked over, and Pearson was asked to prepare an argument for the "necessity and advantages" of such an institution.

This article appeared soon after in the *Panoplist*, the Calvinist monthly magazine, edited by Dr. Jedediah Morse. The men thus called together were, it appears, well aware of Samuel Abbot's intention of endowing a seminary at Andover after his death. Largely because of Pearson's persuasive tongue Abbot was finally convinced that it would be advantageous to found such a school at once. As the outgrowth of much informal discussion, in which the Reverend Jonathan French, the Reverend Jedediah Morse, Dr. Chaplin, of Groton, Colonel John Phillips, 'Squire Farrar, and others took part, it was decided to entrust the funds and the administration of the proposed institution to the Trustees of Phillips Academy; for it was by no means certain that the General Court as it was then constituted would allow the incorporation of any group of men for the purpose of establishing such a seminary. On June 9, 1807, then, certain members of the Board of Trustees were informed that Phillips Academy might expect large additions to its funds if it could secure legislative authority to receive them, and "would appropriate them to give effect to the design of the founders of the Academy relative to theological instruction in said Academy." An application to the General Court resulted in a bill, passed June 19, 1807, empowering the Trustees of Phillips Academy to hold, in addition to what they were already entitled to own, real and personal property with an income not exceeding five thousand dollars. On September 2, 1807, a Constitution of the Seminary, composed mainly by Dr. Pearson, Mr. French, and 'Squire Farrar, was submitted to the Trustees and

accepted by that body. By its terms Samuel Abbot promised the sum of $20,000 in trust as a fund for perpetuating a Professorship of Christian Theology; while Madame Phillips and her son, Colonel John, agreed to erect two separate buildings. This happy issue of the matter was due directly to Pearson's perseverance and tireless energy, which encouraged the others and inspired faith in his plans. It was during this period that he climbed the noble old oak tree still standing in the rear of Pearson Hall, in order to map out the campus and fix suitable sites for the proposed houses and halls.

But his task was as yet hardly begun. While he had been laboring with the details of his project, Dr. Samuel Spring, a Newburyport clergyman, had been seeking the coöperation of several wealthy gentlemen in his vicinity, with the object of organizing an independent divinity school. Dr. Spring and his followers, who represented a distinct branch of Calvinism, were frequently called "Hopkinsians," after the noted Dr. Samuel Hopkins, whose tenets they were supposed to hold.

Into the technical questions of creed and dogma involved it would be futile to enter in a book of this kind. Broadly speaking, Dr. Pearson and his friends belonged to the "Catechism Calvinists," who were prepared to accept without explanation the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly as a basis for their Seminary; Dr. Spring's party, who were rather more extreme in their theology, were sometimes called "Consistent Calvinists," because they desired a separate creed which would explain the Catechism.

The story of the joining of these two groups, if told in full, involves, as Professor Theodore W. Dwight[1] once said, "an account of a long and complicated negotiation between theologians of great ability and astuteness in drawing fine-spun distinctions." Indeed, it is probable that nothing but the fear which both felt for the growing spirit of liberalism at Harvard could possibly have brought them on common ground.

Dr. Spring had finally succeeded in arousing the interest of three wealthy gentlemen: William Bartlet[2] (1747–1841), a shipowner of Newburyport, Moses Brown[3] (1742–1827), an importer of sugar and mo-

[1] See *The Andover Defence* (1887), page 55. This book contains Professor Dwight's argument before the Board of Visitors in December, 1886.

[2] William Bartlet, born in 1747 in Newbury, was apprenticed at an early age to a shoemaker, but gradually acquired the ownership of a large fleet of sailing vessels, through which, in the East India trade, he amassed considerable wealth. He died in Newburyport at the age of ninety-four. Physically he was a large man with a giant frame and a strong step. Even in his old age his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated. He had simple tastes and unassuming manners. His most distinguishing characteristic was his tenacity of purpose. Frugal and parsimonious in small matters, he was generous on a large scale to projects in which he was interested. To Andover Theological Seminary he gave Bartlet Chapel, Bartlet Hall, Phelps House, Stuart House, besides large sums in money.

[3] Moses Brown, born October 2, 1742, in West Newbury, learned the trade of chaise-maker, but later undertook other business enterprises. He accumulated a large fortune, much of which he gave to philanthropic enterprises. He eventually added $25,000 to his original gift of $10,000 to Andover Theological Seminary. At his death February 9, 1827, he left a considerable sum to his native city. His daughter, Mary, married the Honorable William B. Banister, later a Trustee of Phillips Academy. Mr. Brown was a thin, spare person, with an unpretentious manner, and kind and affectionate in his personal relations. "The law of rectitude was in his heart, and the balances of equity in his hand."

lasses in the same city, and John Norris [1] (1748–1808), a prominent Salem merchant. In interviews with these men in the latter part of 1806 he had obtained from each a promise to give $10,000 to the proposed seminary. Within a few days the Reverend Jedediah Morse, who was already familiar with the Andover plans, heard of the Newburyport project, and at once realized that there were excellent reasons why the two groups should form a coalition. After consulting with Dr. Pearson and his colleagues, Dr. Morse went to Newburyport and proposed to Dr. Spring a plan of union, which was, however, rejected, principally because the latter felt that his views could not be reconciled with those of the "Catechism Calvinists." Dr. Pearson soon learned indirectly that Mr. Bartlet and Mr. Brown were not so strongly averse to joining forces; and he therefore with commendable optimism determined to make every effort to unite the two parties. Nine months were spent in attempting to bring about a compromise, during which period, said Professor Park, "Dr. Pearson journeyed alone in his chaise (a distance of twenty miles) thirty-six times from Andover Hill to Newburyport, and there reasoned with the keen dialecticians who opposed the Seminary at Andover." Mrs. Blanchard, Dr. Pearson's daughter, wrote of him at this time: "His whole soul was engrossed, & many anxious days and sleepless nights & Prayerful hours could bear witness to his

[1] John Norris, born in Salem, June 10, 1748, was a merchant and a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and died December 22, 1808. His widow, Mary Norris, who died in 1811, bequeathed to Andover Theological Seminary $30,000, which became the subject of litigation. The Trustees finally won, and the legacy was paid May 2, 1815.

devout ardor." Josiah Quincy, who knew the situation well, said: "Whatever good has resulted, or shall result, from the mere fact of this union, the merit of establishing it belongs to Eliphalet Pearson." So successful was he that by July, 1807, it became evident that, despite Dr. Spring's vigorous objections (which were never entirely met), some amicable arrangement could probably be devised.

On December 1, 1807, Spring, Pearson, and Morse, as agents of the Founders and Donors, met at Charlestown and agreed on an "Associate Creed," embodying what was known as the "Visitatorial System." A Board of three "Visitors" was to be formed, consisting of two clergymen and one layman, one of them to be chosen by the Andover Founders, one by the Newburyport Associate Donors, and the third to be agreed upon by both parties. Four of the Founders and Donors, Abbot, Bartlet, Brown, and Norris, reserved the right to be Visitors during their respective lifetimes. This Board, the idea of which originated with Dr. Spring and his friends, was to have a general supervisory power over the Seminary, and, in particular, to serve as a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the Board of Trustees.

On May 4, 1808, the "Statutes of the Associate Foundation," in which William Bartlet promised $20,000 and Moses Brown and John Norris $10,000 each towards the Seminary endowment, were communicated to the Trustees of Phillips Academy. It was by no means sure even then that the Trustees would care to accept a trust which so limited their power of independent and untrammeled action. Some

of the members were Moderate Calvinists, others were Unitarians, and both groups were inclined to look with suspicion upon Hopkinsian schemes. Two further points were far from pleasing to the Andover theologians: first, the stipulation that each professor under the Associate Foundation must, on the day of his inauguration, subscribe publicly to his belief in a specially written creed composed by Dr. Spring and Dr. Woods; second, the provision that the whole arrangement should be an experiment, which the Associate Donors might terminate at the end of seven years. The Trustees discussed the "Statutes" with great care, taking them up article by article. At last on May 10 the decisive vote was taken, with only eight of the Trustees present: seven gave their assent, the eighth, the Reverend Daniel Dana, remaining silent, evidently in disapproval. Dr. Pearson's long labors had been rewarded, for the compromise thus effected between diverse opinions was destined to endure. The final ratification was accomplished when Leonard Woods, of Newbury, a moderate Hopkinsian, was nominated on October 1, 1807, by Samuel Abbot as his first Professor of Christian Theology, and this courtesy was reciprocated on March 2, 1808, by the appointment of Dr. Pearson as the first Professor of Natural Theology on the Associate endowment.

The Andover Theological Seminary thus organized was formally opened for students on September 22, 1808, in the South Parish Church, with appropriate exercises, including a prayer by Mr. French, the reading of the Constitution of the Seminary and the Asso-

ciate Statutes, and an historical summary by Dr. Pearson of the rise and progress of the Academy, in which he proved that the Seminary was a logical outgrowth of Phillips Academy and that the two institutions should therefore work in harmonious coöperation. In the afternoon a sermon was preached by Dr. Timothy Dwight, Dr. Pearson, who was a layman, was regularly ordained, and the two professors, Pearson and Woods, were installed in office. Professor Woods then delivered an inaugural address on *The Glory and Excellence of the Gospel.* Nineteen students were at once received, and thirty-six had registered before the close of the first year. "We may live to see twenty students here," said 'Squire Farrar, as he walked away from the church after the ceremonies; he lived to see one hundred and fifty. Until Phillips Hall was completed in 1809 lectures were held in the old Abbot House, where Dr. Woods had recently followed Principal Newman as a resident. Dr. Pearson, who had accepted a professorship only with great reluctance, found the position little to his taste and resigned at the end of the first year.

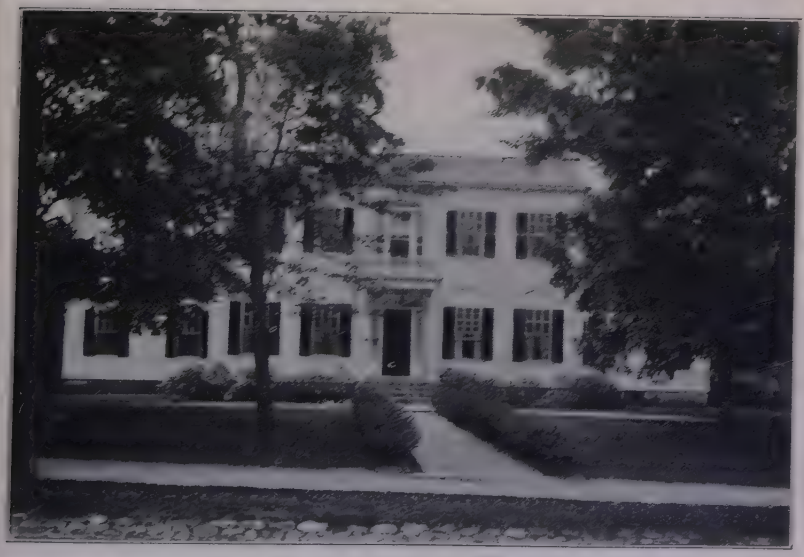
The aspect of Andover Hill at once began to change. Phillips Hall, a dormitory for Seminary students, was erected by Madame Phœbe Phillips and her son, at a cost of $16,000. It was modeled principally after dormitories at Brown University, which Colonel John Phillips had gone to Providence to inspect. Madame Phillips put her heart into the project, and is reported to have said, "I hope a prayer will be offered for every hod of brick, and every bucket of mortar used in the erection." A wooden steward's house, containing

a kitchen, a dining-room, and accommodations for the steward and his family, was constructed in the rear of the brick hall. Here the Seminary Commons boarding-house was opened and continued until 1846; the building itself was moved about 1850 to the northeast corner of Main and Morton Streets, where it is to-day occupied as a dwelling. By December, 1809, workmen were busy excavating for the President's House, built by William Bartlet for Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin, the first Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric. Dr. Griffin, taking literally the *carte blanche* tendered him by Mr. Bartlet, made the mansion far more luxurious than its donor had intended. When the shipowner protested mildly against the gorgeous parlor wall-paper at a dollar a roll, Dr. Griffin hastily had the room redecorated with paper of a twenty-five cent grade, also at Mr. Bartlet's expense. By 1811, when the beautiful home was completed, Dr. Griffin had resigned to accept the pulpit of the Park Street Church in Boston, and Dr. Ebenezer Porter, his successor in office, was the first actually to occupy the dwelling.

Another of Mr. Bartlet's generous gifts was the Stuart House, finished in 1812 for Professor Moses Stuart,[1] the eminent Hebrew scholar, who occupied it until 1852. Across the street Mark Newman had completed his new dwelling; and in 1812, on the site of the

[1] Moses Stuart, born in Wilton, Connecticut, March 26, 1780, graduated at Yale in 1799, studied divinity with President Dwight, and was ordained in 1806. After four years as pastor in New Haven, he was called to Andover, where he remained until he died, January 4, 1852. Professor Stuart became an eminent scholar, and was responsible for the first font of Hebrew type in this country. His *Hebrew Grammar* was for many years a pioneer book in that field.

THE NEWMAN HOUSE



THE PHELPS HOUSE

first Academy, 'Squire Farrar built himself a residence. In 1816 the "Faculty Row" on Main Street was improved by the construction of the Woods House, erected by a bequest of Samuel Abbot, Esq., for the use of Professor Leonard Woods.[1] All these dwellings were of the colonial type, square and solid in design, and built of wood. Without being extravagantly or elaborately planned, they represent good domestic architecture of that period. At the time when they were completed, and for years after, they were enclosed by white fences; and the houses themselves were uniformly painted a simple white until Professor Stuart's daughters, tiring of the conventional hue, had their own home painted a light drab while their father was away on a visit. The Woods House, because of an idiosyncrasy of its occupant, was for nearly half a century without blinds, so that its natural plainness was accentuated.

When one remembers that all these buildings were put up within fifteen years, one realizes how extensive was the change wrought by the establishment of Andover Theological Seminary. In a few years, almost within a few months, Andover became a busy community, altogether unlike the quiet, isolated spot selected in 1777 by Samuel Phillips, Jr., as a suitable location for his school. The effect upon Phillips Academy could hardly help being far-reaching.

As a matter of fact the history of the school was to a considerable extent bound up with that of the theological institution, and the Trustees, charged with the

[1] This house is now most inappropriately termed the Pease House, and is occupied by Dr. Pierson S. Page.

interests of both, were often unable to treat one apart from the other. Seminary students frequently acted as assistants in the Academy. The officers and teachers of the two schools were naturally often thrown together, both professionally and socially. Such men as Principal John Adams amd Dr. Samuel H. Taylor were the intimate associates of the Seminary professors, and were regularly consulted by them. Unfortunately, the Trustees often came to view the Academy as subsidiary to the Seminary, and, probably without deliberately intending it, neglected the needs of the older school as being relatively unimportant. The close connection between the two institutions makes it impossible to write the history of Phillips Academy without many incidental references to the Seminary and its able men; but no attempt can be made in this volume to review, even briefly, the story of that divinity school. When, in 1908, the land and buildings of the Seminary came to be the property of the Academy, Andover Hill, marvelously altered, was again, as in 1808, the seat of Phillips Academy alone.

CHAPTER IX

THE REGENERATION UNDER JOHN ADAMS

To have built up one of the historic schools of New England; to have set the impress of a sterling character upon some thousands of American girls and boys; to have become in extreme old age a pioneer of civilization in a great Western State — this surely is to deserve the grateful memory of those who come after.

THE most attractive and striking of the portraits now hanging in Brechin Hall is that of John Adams, the fourth Principal of Phillips Academy. The head is massive and finely modeled; the handsome features, clear blue eyes, and erect bearing show consciousness of power; and the figure gives the impression of sound and vigorous manhood. It is not difficult to believe that he represented in his personality what Lowell calls, —

> The high stern-featured beauty
> Of plain devotedness to duty,
> Steadfast and still, nor paid with mortal praise,
> But finding amplest recompense
> For life's ungarlanded expense
> In work done squarely and unwasted days.

Of all those who have occupied the office of Principal no one has come nearer than he to realizing in his work and life the specific ideals of the Founders.

Adams was not, however, a man of spectacular gifts or of extraordinary genius. The caustic Josiah Quincy the younger once wrote of him: —

> He was an excellent man with no distinguishing traits. He was very religious, but had no literary tastes. His clas-

sical attainments enabled him to fit boys for college, but went no further. He was particular in the observance of all religious exercises, both in the family and in the school, and did all he could to promote the moral and spiritual interests of his pupils.

In some respects this description — which resembles damning with faint praise — is fairly accurate. It is true, for instance, that Adams was not a wide reader and that he had no decided interest in literature. He was, furthermore, in no sense a profound scholar, even in Latin and Greek. But Quincy's colorless characterization fails to illumine Adams's finer qualities. His pupils and colleagues found him an efficient administrator, a stern but just disciplinarian, and a well-informed teacher. One of his associates said of him: —

> His attainments, if not brilliant, were substantial. What he knew he knew thoroughly, and he had an unusual faculty for communicating knowledge to the minds of others.

Even among such keen intellects as Dr. Pearson and Professor Woods, Moses Stuart and Ebenezer Porter, Adams was not thrust entirely into the background, for, although he was never witty or clever, he had a capacity for patient toil and a quiet, dogged persistence which compelled respect. Instinctively a conservative, he was also occasionally an innovator, keeping pace, at least until he grew old, with life around him and not infrequently venturing on his own measures of mild and unobtrusive reform. Above all, he was a thoroughly good man, an active and inspiring moral force in his community. From the mo-

ment of his arrival in Andover he resolved to study out and fulfill the stipulations of the Constitution regarding the influence of the Principal on the religious tone of the school. His methods are indicated in a letter written by Dr. Jonathan F. Stearns: —[1]

> Mr. Adams was, by all his views, habits, and impulses, a *revival* man, and was never happier than when he saw a revival beginning and going forward. His favorite hymns were in that strain. He often conversed personally with individuals on the subject of personal piety.

His avowed desire was "to lay as securely as possible in the character of every pupil the foundation of Christian manhood."

John Adams was always proud of being able to trace his ancestry to the same forbears as the two Presidents of the same name. He was born September 18, 1772, in Canterbury, Connecticut, the eldest of the ten children of Captain John Adams and his wife, Mary Parker Adams. In his early days on the farm he soon learned to do a man's full work as teamster or laborer. His father, poor, but ambitious for his son, managed, through rigid economy, to save six hundred dollars for the boy's education. He was admitted to Yale in 1791 and graduated four years later with high rank, being chosen to deliver the English Oration and also a Commencement Address, the subject of which, *The Benefits of Theatrical Amusements*, was hardly consistent with his later views. Although he was far

[1] Jonathan French Stearns (1808–89), son of the Reverend Samuel Stearns, graduated from Phillips Academy in 1826, and was later pastor at Newburyport and Newark, New Jersey. He was one of the Founders of the Philomathean Society, and took part in its semicentennial celebration in 1875.

from being a wild youth, he had a good share of animal spirits. He was conceded to be the best dancer in his class, and was made leader of the annual student ball. Years after, when his attitude towards such frivolity had hardened into intolerance, he was often troubled by the memory of what he called the "follies" of his undergraduate days.

When his college course was finished, the young man returned to Canterbury, where, at his mother's request, he took charge of a school near his home, so that he might assist in caring for her through the pain of an incurable disease. In 1798 he married Elizabeth Ripley, a young lady from the neighboring town of Windham. Shortly after the wedding Adams's mother died, and he felt free at last to accept a position as Rector of Plainfield Academy, which he had been obliged to refuse a few years before. In 1801, then, he went to Plainfield, where, although he found the school in a "sickly condition," he proved himself to be capable and energetic. So prosperous did the institution become in his hands that the Trustees of Bacon Academy at Colchester, Connecticut, hearing of his success, offered him an opportunity in that school. In his seven years at Bacon Academy the attendance increased to nearly two hundred. In 1810, however, a discussion arose with the Trustees over a matter of discipline, and Adams, learning that his recommendation was not accepted, tendered his resignation, refusing even their most earnest entreaties to reconsider his action. The late winter of 1810 thus found him without a position.

Meanwhile affairs at Phillips Academy had gone

from bad to worse. The first choice of the Trustees for the principalship left vacant by Newman's resignation was Ebenezer Adams, of Exeter, who, however, declined the offer. An interregnum of some months followed, during which Newman, at the urgent request of the Trustees, retained a supervisory control of the institution, while several assistants, students in the Theological Seminary, conducted the recitations. Among these young men were Samuel Nott (1787–1869), one of the first missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions; Samuel Thomas Mills (1785–1853); John Frost (1783–1842); Ansel Nash (1788–1851), later an agent of the American Education Society; and John Brown (1786–1839), afterwards a prominent Boston clergyman. Under this system of casual and poorly regulated instruction no firm discipline was possible, and the crisis which had been foreshadowed under Newman seemed ever more dangerously imminent. At this moment the Trustees heard the news of Adams's resignation from Bacon Academy, and knowing of his reputation, elected him, on March 22, 1810, as Principal of Phillips Academy, with a guarantee of nine hundred dollars a year and a suitable house. Adams promptly accepted the proposal, and the Trustees paid the moving expenses for his household from Colchester to Andover. By May the new Principal was settled in the house on Salem Street just vacated by Dr. Pearson.

John Adams was then in the prime of life, with fourteen years of teaching experience behind him. His character and personality at once commended

him to the Trustees. He is described at this period as "erect, handsome, of good presence, the habitual sternness of his expression relieved by the humor which lurked in his full blue eyes." People noticed particularly his marked dignity, his self-control, and his air of command which made the boys obey his slightest nod.

Had Adams been a feeble or even a mediocre man, Phillips Academy, weakened by the two critical years before his arrival, might easily have shared the dismal fate of many another New England school; fortunately, his manner inspired confidence, and the event justified the reports which had been spread of his previous success. He closed his first year with thirty-three pupils, and, on August 18, 1812, he was permitted by the Trustees to raise the number to seventy. Eventually the Board, sympathizing with Adams's ambition to enlarge the school, voted that, when the number of students should exceed seventy-five, a second assistant should be provided, and that, when over a hundred were in attendance, a third assistant might be secured. From 1817 until 1824, when the Academy under Adams was most prosperous, there were under this arrangement four teachers on the Faculty. The actual growth in numbers is shown by the fact that, during the twenty-two years of Adams's principalship, 1119 boys were admitted, nearly a hundred more than had entered in the preceding thirty-two years. Five hundred and fifty of Adams's students continued their education in college, as compared with three hundred and seventy under Pearson, Pemberton, and Newman.

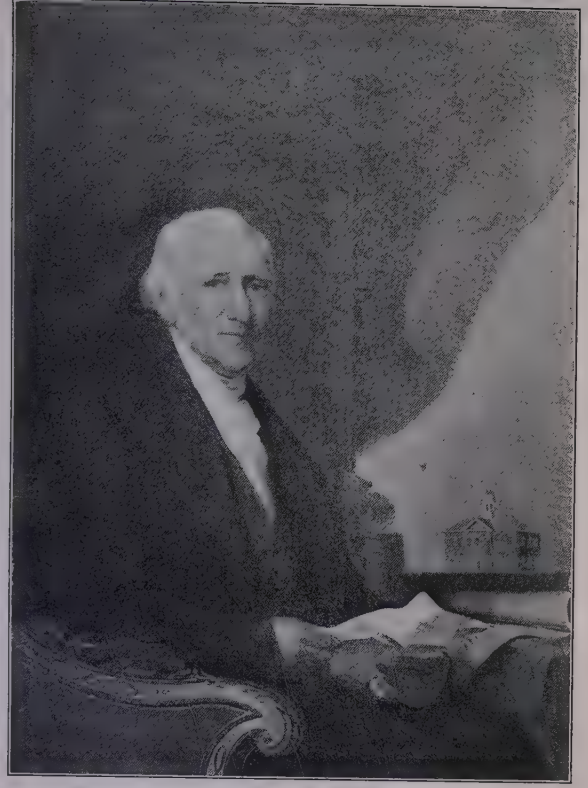
As yet, however, Phillips Academy was far from being national in its representation or influence. Of the twenty-nine who entered in 1810 only three were from outside New England, and twenty-two were from Massachusetts. In the large entering class of ninety in 1817, there were only three from west of the Hudson River. Of the forty-seven who registered in 1828, twenty-one were from Andover, and all but nine were from Massachusetts. Like Plainfield Academy, Dummer Academy, and other similar schools, Phillips Academy drew its patronage largely from the immediate vicinity, with only a few scattering students from a distance.

One marked change was beginning to show itself in the fact that graduates of Phillips were choosing other colleges than Harvard. In 1811 seventeen of the Senior class selected Harvard, five Dartmouth, and one Yale. By 1819 the ratio had shifted. Of the ninety men who were admitted in that year twenty went eventually to Yale, twelve to Harvard, and eight to Brown. Of those who entered Phillips Academy in 1829, not one went to Harvard. This steadily increasing trend towards New Haven and away from Cambridge is to be attributed largely to the prevailing prejudice of the Seminary Faculty, and especially of Dr. Pearson, President of the Trustees, against Harvard and all that it represented, and partly to the personal influence of Principal Adams, who was an enthusiastic recruiter for his own college. Many Andover graduates were also choosing other colleges, either new or just coming into prominence: thus from 1810 to 1830 forty-five went to Amherst, forty-three to

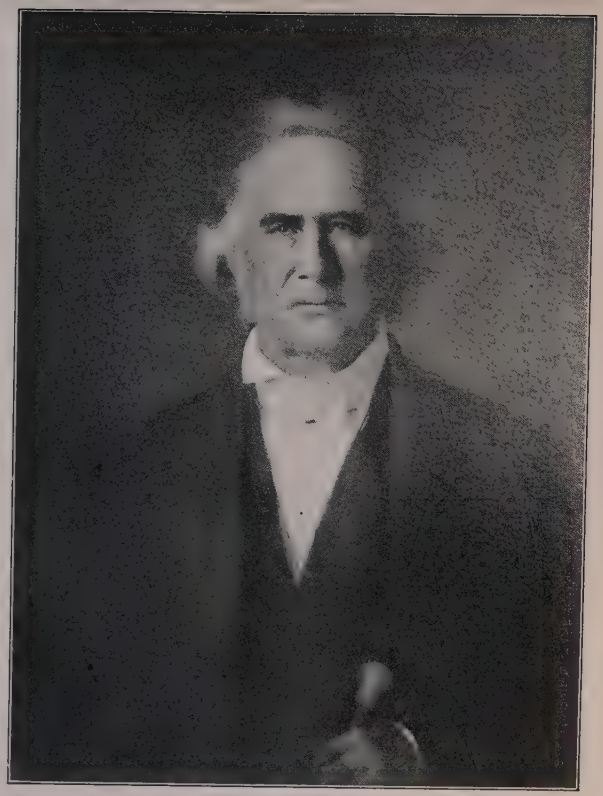
Brown, thirty-six to Union, thirty-four to Bowdoin, twenty-two to Middlebury, thirteen to Williams, and fifteen to other institutions. During the entire twenty years one hundred and forty-three Andover men went to Harvard, one hundred and thirty-seven to Yale, and eighty-three to Dartmouth.

Under John Adams Phillips Academy was still conducted much like the grammar school of to-day: that is, the boys spent practically all day in the school building, with an hour's intermission for lunch, and did most of their studying, not at their houses, but at recitation-rooms under the teacher's surveillance. The second Academy building, which was manifestly inadequate to the requirements of the growing school, was destroyed by fire on the night of January 30, 1818, almost exactly thirty-two years after it had first been occupied. Before any fire apparatus could be brought up, the flames had devoured nearly the entire structure, and hardly a piece of timber was left intact. Subscription papers, signed by a committee consisting of Dr. Pearson, Dr. Dana, and Principal Adams, were sent out on March 27, making a vigorous appeal for funds, and work was begun at once on the third Academy building, the "Classic Hall" of Oliver Wendell Holmes, now in use as a dining-hall. Of the expense of this structure, amounting to $13,252.73, the sum of $5000 was contributed by His Honor William Phillips,[1] of Boston, $3683.83 was subscribed by President Kirkland of Harvard, and others, and the balance was

[1] A feature of the portrait of His Honor, which very much resembles the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington, is the Brick Academy, which appears in the background, half disclosed by a curtain.



HIS HONOR WILLIAM PHILLIPS



JOHN ADAMS

taken from various unappropriated funds. The new hall was constructed of brick in the best colonial style, the architect being the well-known Charles Bulfinch. It was placed exactly in line with the Seminary buildings on a knoll to the south.

As it was then arranged for school purposes, the entrance was by a door at the north end; on the wall at the south side hung the handsome clock, presented in 1819 by Mrs. Margaret Phillips,[1] Judge Oliver Wendell's sister, who had married William Phillips, of Boston, Judge Phillips's second cousin. On its case this clock bore one of Judge Phillips's favorite sayings, — "Youth is the Seed-Time of Life." It was invariably wound up in school hours by Adams himself, who mounted to it by means of a stepladder placed on one of the benches. While the boys waited expectantly, half hoping that he might fall, he would usually call attention to the inscription and improve the opportunity for a few "moral observations."

Dr. Jonathan F. Stearns has written a vivid description of the interior as he remembered it in 1823: —

> Coming in the door at the north end, we passed the entrance of two recitation rooms, right and left of the entryway, and entered the main school room, passing between two high seats or *thrones*. . . . Just below, against the wall on either side, stood two immense *Russian stoves* of brick work reaching nearly to the ceiling, in which were kept in winter two roaring fires. Fronting all this array were the scholars' benches, — in school hours with scholars in

[1] Margaret Wendell was the granddaughter of Governor Bradstreet. Her husband, William Phillips, was a grandson of Samuel Phillips, the Salem goldsmith.

them, — under the immediate eye of the authorities above. They were arranged in rows with double boxes, rising gently to the farther wall, with alleys between, and two scholars in each. The younger ones sat for the most part towards the front; the Seniors on the further end. And, in the back-seats, sat a row of monitors; full-grown men, *old* men they looked to me, whose office it was to call the school to order at the appointed hour, in turn, by hammering, up and down, the bench lid and shouting with authority, "Order!" And then, order was, right soon.

Thereupon, punctual to the moment, appeared the venerable John Adams, and took his seat, then Jonathan Clement, then the other assistants. Mr. Adams rose in his place and invoked the divine blessing, then read the Scriptures with Scott's *Commentaries*, made a few explanatory or instructive comments of his own, then read a hymn, which was sung, by all that could sing, under the lead of the Academy choir, then led us in more extended prayer.

Devotions over, occasion was taken by the Principal to attend to many matters of order or discipline which seemed to him to require attention in the presence of the whole school, and assistants retired to their recitation rooms, — the morning classes were called, the books were spread out on the benches, and the low hum of school life showed the work of the day had begun.

From Dr. Ray Palmer,[1] who also was admitted to the Academy in 1823, we learn other details about the school routine: —

Mr. Adams heard but comparatively few classes, and

[1] Ray Palmer (1809–87) graduated from Phillips Academy in 1826, became a teacher and later a clergyman, and was pastor at Bath, Maine, and Troy, New York. He was a Visitor of Andover Theological Seminary. He is most famous as the author of the hymn, "My faith looks up to thee." He presided in 1875 at the semicentennial anniversary of the Philomathean Society, of which he was one of the Founders.

was often absent a considerable part of the day — say an hour or two at a time. Recitations went on until twelve o'clock — then recess till two — then recitations till the close of the day at five. One afternoon in each week were declamations, and on Saturday the whole school was required to stand and pass a thorough examination in Latin grammar. Any mistake, even in accent, obliged the scholar to take his seat; and a considerable part went down, often before the regular exercise was through. The only other variation from the regular daily order was on Monday morning, when the Sabbath lesson in Mason's *Self-Knowledge* or Porter's *Evidences of Christianity* was recited the first thing after prayers.

To this must be added the description given by Oliver Wendell Holmes of the class of 1825, in his poem *The School-Boy:* —

> How all comes back! The upward-slanting floor,
> The masters' thrones that flank the central door,
> The long outstretching alleys that divide
> The rows of desks that stand on either side,
> The staring boys, a face to every desk,
> Bright, dull, pale, blooming, common, picturesque.
> Grave is the Master's look, his forehead wears
> Thick rows of wrinkles, prints of worrying cares.
> Uneasy lie the heads of all that rule,
> He most of all whose kingdom is a school.
> Supreme he sits. Before the awful frown
> That bends his brows the boldest eye goes down.
> Not more submissive Israel heard and saw
> At Sinai's feet the Giver of the Law.

Principal Adams, as Holmes implies, was a strict disciplinarian who would not tolerate disorder. General H. K. Oliver, referring to his experience in Phillips Academy in 1811, said: —

I was unfit to meet any sternness at school; and Mr. Adams was pretty severe, and pretty often we could "trace

the day's disasters in his morning face." He ruled not a little by the ferule.

Samuel T. Worcester (1805–82), a student in 1826, confirms this opinion: —

Mr. Adams, I think, was looked upon as a good disciplinarian, but perhaps somewhat rigorous and exacting. Some of his methods of corporal punishment would be offensive to more modern notions, especially a form of castigation that he used to call *shingling*.

It is remarkable, however, that we hear so few tales of actual flogging by the teachers of that day. The most light upon this interesting matter is thrown by Captain John Codman, of the class of 1823, who once wrote: —

In the old Academy building we sat facing the two thrones of judgment. As they faced us, that of Master Clement, the assistant, was on the right of that of Master Adams, the principal. Each had his wand of office; that of Master Adams was the most *fortiter in re* or rather *in manu*. It was a villainous ferule about a foot long, with a little bulb at one end so that it might not slip from his own hand, and with a sort of salad-spoon termination at the other just fitted to the palm of a boy. The sceptre of Master Clement was a cowhide or a big hickory switch with which he argued *a posteriori*.

Oliver Wendell Holmes never forgot the beating which, for some trivial offense, he received from Jonathan Clement: —[1]

[1] Jonathan Clement (1797–1881) was the first assistant teacher from 1819 to 1829, and is generally spoken of as an exceedingly able instructor. He came to Andover after graduating from Middlebury College, and married Phœbe Foxcroft Phillips, daughter of Colonel John Phillips. He was afterwards a prominent clergyman.

I was subjected to the severest castigation known, I believe, in the annals of punishment in that institution, such as made a sensation among all the delicate females of the vicinity, and caused young men to utter violent threats, and was, in fact, almost the occasion of a riot. It was an unfortunate display of temper on the part of one of the instructors.

This punishment, and his aversion to the "errors" of evangelical, or Calvinist, doctrine, were responsible for the prejudice which Holmes held for many years against Andover. Long afterward, when both Holmes and Clement were old men, the latter called upon his former pupil and apologized for the chastisement which he had inflicted.

Principal Adams made some changes in school administration. Early in his term of office he devised a scheme of dividing the pupils into two separate classes: the Seniors, who were to graduate at the next Exhibition; and the Juniors, consisting of those who proposed to remain. He also perfected a plan by which recitations were held in small squads, of from two or three to ten or twelve boys, grouped together according to their stages of advancement. In 1814 he supervised the publication of the first annual catalogue, a mere broadside sheet containing only the names of instructors and students. In 1822 this became a ten-page folder, printed by Flagg and Gould, in which were given lists of Trustees, teachers, and pupils, but no other information. In 1815 the Trustees established an entrance fee of five dollars, and also a regular tuition fee of five dollars a quarter, "to be used for tuition, fuel, and incidental expenses."

Exhibitions were held as usual, although some variations were permitted. On May 11, 1814, a drama, *The Mistake*, was performed at Phillips Academy, with a prologue by William Person.

Although the curriculum in general was not much altered under John Adams, there were a few minor modifications. Samuel Phillips, son of Colonel John Phillips, entered the Academy in 1809 and graduated in 1815. He describes in detail the course which he pursued: —

> It consisted mainly of Latin and Greek, with just enough arithmetic (to or through the Rule of Three) to secure admission to college. We began at that time with Adams's *Latin Grammar*. We were confined to that for a while, — and then came a Latin Reader, with double columns, Latin and English. *Liber Primus* and *Viri Romae* came a little later, and were used as text-books when I came back from college. In my time, we were hurried on to Virgil and Cicero's *Select Orations* after finishing grammar, — after which the *Graeca Minora;* but after Mr. Adams's advent, he introduced the *Selecta e Profanis Scriptoribus*, a book containing much to edify and gratify more advanced students.

A graduate of the class of 1811 presents a gloomy picture of the curriculum in his day: —

> I well remember that the general object sought was to grind into us and gerund us in a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. All other knowledge was of minor consequence, this being attained by a severe course of the most persistent gerund-grinding; an exclusive memorizing, first of all, of the entire Greek and Latin Grammar before entering upon any practical application of its forms or rules. The whole business, and it was the same all over

the land, was a melancholy misunderstanding of the function of education.

How this method of teaching worked in practice is described by Dr. William Goodell, who graduated in 1813: —

> We would decline any noun in any declension, naming it in every case from the nominative singular to the ablative plural, going through the whole at one breath. Then we would go backward at one breath from the ablative plural to the nominative singular. To us this was real fun, and to Mr. Adams it seemed real fun to hear us.

In 1820, at Adams's suggestion, the Trustees arranged a prescribed course for a diploma, the required studies being outlined under twenty heads, of which thirteen were classical and two mathematical. This schedule is likely to impress a modern educator as being unnecessarily one-sided, for it makes no mention of any science, of any living language except English, or of any history except that of Greece and Rome. Every boy had also to learn to sing, and to take lessons from a writing-master. In addition to this specified course, further provision was made for more advanced students, by offering them, not new subjects, but an opportunity to read the more difficult classical Greek texts, such as Thucydides and Herodotus. It is undoubtedly true, as William Person [1] asserted in 1814, that at that date "all

[1] William Person (1793–1818), the most interesting of Adams's pupils, was an illegitimate child, who was deserted in infancy by his parents and later apprenticed to a tanner. On March 3, 1814, when he was twenty-one years old, he left Providence to walk to Andover, covering the sixty miles between Wednesday morning and the following afternoon. At Phillips Academy he was supported at first by a Provi-

branches taught in the Freshman, and the greater part of the Sophomore classes in Brown University" might be pursued in Phillips Academy.

But Adams's influence was exhibited most decisively in the field of morals and religion. Himself a devout and earnest man, he felt a keen responsibility for the spiritual welfare of those entrusted to his care. "The pious," wrote Person in 1815, "are his especial favorites." On Sunday mornings he held regular Bible classes in the Academy building; on Saturdays the boys recited a lesson of about ten pages in Mason's *Self-Knowledge;* on Mondays they were called upon to give abstracts of the sermons of the preceding day and also to answer questions on several pages of Vincent's *Explanation of the Shorter Catechism.* For years prayer-meetings organized and conducted by the boys themselves were held in the unfinished third story of the Brick Academy, a kind of loft or attic where the participants were very much to themselves. A large proportion of the pupils — according to Adams, one in every five — later entered the Christian ministry, many of them as the direct result of a conversion brought about by the Principal. Nearly

dence gentleman, but this aid soon failed, and the young man became "Scholar of the House," earning his way by ringing bells, sweeping, and making fires. He was nearly drowned, August 11, 1814, in the Shawsheen, but was saved by his roommate, John Langdon. Person's constitution was so undermined by the privations which he underwent at this time and by excessive study that he died while he was a student in Harvard College. In his brief career at Harvard, Person showed himself to be a brilliant scholar. After his death his classmates, with whom he was very popular, defrayed all the expenses of his funeral, erected a monument to him, with a Latin epitaph, in the old Cambridge burying-ground, and finally, in 1820, published his *Life and Letters,* with some of his poems.

every class in his administration had a revival of religion at some time during the course. Nathaniel Parker Willis [1] (1806–67), the poet, who graduated at Andover in 1823, used to tell his friends of a dramatic revival, when the "unregenerate" were visited in their rooms by church members, were prayed with and urged towards public acknowledgment of conversion. Willis in his letters home so alarmed his family by his morbid state of mind that they wished to withdraw him from school. One of his relatives in discussing the incident said: —

> There is a sort of indecency in this premature forcing open of the simple and healthful heart of a boy, substituting morbid self-questionings, exaggerated remorse, and the terrors of perdition for his natural brave outlook on a world of hope and enjoyment.

Josiah Quincy,[2] the younger, of the class of 1817, was accustomed to relate with much zest an anecdote illustrating the Principal's scrupulous conscience: —

> One summer's day, after a session of four hours, the master dismissed the school in the usual form. No sooner had he done so than he added, "There will now be a prayer-meeting; those who wish to lie down in everlasting burning may go; the rest will stay." It is probable that a

[1] Nathaniel Parker Willis was born in Portland, Maine, and came to Phillips Academy in 1821. He was later a journalist and a poet. As editor of several magazines, he acquired a national reputation. His *Pencillings by the Way*, *Sacred Poems*, and various volumes of essays have given him a place in American literature. He died at his estate "Idlewild" in Cornwall, New York.

[2] Josiah Quincy (1802–82), son of Josiah Quincy, the President of Harvard, entered Phillips Academy in 1811, and graduated from Harvard in 1821. He was later President of the Massachusetts Senate and Mayor of Boston (1845), as well as the first Treasurer of the Western Railroad. He lived in Boston during most of his life.

good many boys wanted to get out of doors. Two only had the audacity to rise and leave the room. One of these youngsters has since been known as an eminent Doctor of Divinity; the other was he who now relates the incident. But no sooner was the prayer-meeting over than Mr. Adams sought me out, asked pardon for the dreadful alternative he had presented, and burst into a flood of tears. He said with deep emotion that he feared I had committed the unpardonable sin, and that he had been the cause. His sincerity and faith were most touching, and his manliness in confessing his error and asking pardon from his pupil make the record of the occurrence an honor to his memory.

There can be no doubt that Adams, in this respect an extremist, overemphasized the religious element of schoolboy life. It was far from being the intention, even of the Founders, to develop Phillips Academy exclusively into a training-place for clergymen. They had insisted upon broad and sane education, both intellectual and moral. Not even the Principal's evident sincerity can justify his making conversion the goal of a boy's career.

The school had no church service of its own, but the students attended the South Parish meeting-house. Quincy in describing the service there once said: —

The church was old and dilapidated, and the rattling of the windows and the slamming down of the seats after prayers would have shocked our more fastidious worshippers to-day. There was no means of heating the building, and in winter we muffled up our faces and tied handkerchiefs over our ears as if we were going on a sleighride. But if the surroundings were cold, the doctrines were certainly warm enough to prevent any fatal consequences.

It is not difficult to understand how Adams, actuated by motives in themselves quite laudable, could discover only evil where we nowadays can see little but harmless diversion. Quincy in his student days could remember seeing no work of the imagination except *Pilgrim's Progress*. To have in one's possession books of fiction or light poetry was considered to be a sin. Plays, even those of Shakspere, were condemned by the authorities. Sometimes, however, degrading literature made its way into the sacred precincts. Once a boy brought with him, to read in leisure hours, about a dozen little comedies and farces of the day. Within a week the Principal heard of it, and, in a public address to the students, said, "I understand Leavenworth has brought some very improper books here. Leavenworth, you will to-morrow do up all your books not connected with your classical studies and bring them to me." The next day Leavenworth handed a little bundle to Mr. Adams, who put it away in the clothes closet. When the last morning of the term arrived, the Principal produced the bundle before the school, saying, "You remember that I directed Leavenworth to bring me every book not connected with his classical studies. We will now see what the titles of these important volumes are." Thereupon he undid the bundle, and out dropped a copy of the Bible. "What!" said Adams, in a voice of thunder, "you should have been reading a chapter in this every morning before breakfast." Leavenworth replied with feigned simplicity, "Sir, you ordered me to bring you all books not connected with my classical studies."

Dancing was, of course, forbidden, and when a rash Frenchman proposed to start a dancing academy in the town, the Principal did his best to have him summarily ejected by the village fathers. Smoking, though the Principal indulged in it, was thought in a student to be a heinous offense. Strangely enough, in the midst of this ultra-Puritanical atmosphere, liquor was served regularly at the meetings of the Trustees until 1827, when that body, responsive to the rapidly spreading temperance movement, passed a vote to "dispense with the provision of wine or spirits for their entertainment at their meetings."

The watchful care which the Principal gave to his pupils must have won for him the approbation of parents. In one typical case we are able to observe how zealous he was to see that mothers and fathers were supplied with accurate information. On January 24, 1821, he wrote to Mrs. Phœbe Lord, Arundel, Maine, to tell her that her son Charles was seriously ill with the "canker-rash"; a letter following on the next day brought her the news of his "slight improvement"; and a third on January 27 informed her that the boy was "evidently better," and closed by giving thanks to God. The Principal was one of the most kind-hearted of men, as many of his pupils learned when they needed encouragement or had to face trouble.

From the boy's point of view school life, then as now, was made up of tears and smiles. A student like William Person, a "charity scholar," found the double labor of his position very irksome. On February 18, 1815, he wrote: —

The cold has been remarkably intense for several days, and in addition to my stated duties, such as sweeping, ringing, making fires, etc., I have undertaken to cut wood also, and prepare it for three fires, which in this inclement weather require constant attendance, and consume the fuel almost as fast as it is prepared.

On one Arctic day, — "the coldest I ever knew," — he managed to raise the temperature in the second Academy building from zero to 38°, but on the following morning he could reach only half that. On the next night he slept in the bleak hall in order to keep the fires going so that the room might be comfortable for the exercises the next day. When heavy storms came, many of the boys volunteered with the "theologues" to shovel out Principal Adams or Dr. Porter.

But few of the pupils had to undergo hardships such as these. Most of them had time for diversions and recreations of various kinds. The boys had their own militia company which drilled at regular intervals. On September 29, 1814, the school company marched to Boxford, had a sham battle with its regiment, and was reviewed by officers from the regular army. In 1814 also a section went by coach to Boston to work on the city fortifications; on their arrival each was presented with a shovel, and they marched through the streets to Dorchester Heights, carrying these like muskets, amid the loud cheering of the citizens. Their actual manual labor did not last long, but they returned home weary, "with their patriotism somewhat enfeebled." Dr. Ray Palmer tells the story of a trip which he, with several friends, took in 1825 to Charlestown to hear Webster's Oration at the dedication of

Bunker Hill Monument. Early on June 17 they started on foot, arriving in time to march in the procession: —

> Being boys, we ventured to push ourselves in anywhere, and it was my good fortune to get among the Royal Arch Masons, right in front of Mr. Webster, about fifty feet off. I saw his eye and heard his utterances, and remember now just as well as though I heard them yesterday, the tones of his voice, — he was then about fifty years old, in the perfection of manhood.

When lessons were over, the boys had before them all the beautiful Andover countryside. Although the games were primitive, there was plenty of chance for exercise in the pond near which "Pomp" [1] still had his cabin, or in walking through the woods to the gloomy "Land of Nod." Prospect Hill, from which on a clear afternoon the ocean could be seen fifteen miles away, was the goal of many a picnic party. It was the memory of such happy hours that led Holmes in 1878 to make the queries: —

> Still in the waters of the dark Shawshine
> Do the young bathers splash and think they're clean?
> Do pilgrims find their way to Indian Ridge,
> Or journey onward to the far-off bridge,
> And bring to younger ears the story back
> Of the broad stream, the mighty Merrimack?

It is time, perhaps, to return to the Principal him-

[1] Pompey Lovejoy, a former negro servant of Captain William Lovejoy, had married, December 26, 1751, Rose, the servant of John Foster. The couple had a cabin on the shores of the pond now named for him, where they made "'lection cake" and root beer for the voters on town-meeting days. "They had smiles for you if Pomp was 'bad with the rheumatiz,' or Rose was 'laid up for a spell.'" In 1824 Pomp was still alive, and told the boys that he was over a hundred years old.

self. His household was usually a large one: his wife, ten children, and a small group of pupils, five or six in all, who boarded with them. Both Josiah Quincy, Jr., and Samuel Phillips lived with Adams, and the latter reported, "Good, wholesome, cleanly fare we had, and an abundance of it." Of Adams's daughters, four — Mary, Harriet, Abby, and Elizabeth — gratified their parents by marrying ministers; and two of his sons, John Ripley Adams and William Adams, became clergymen, the latter being President of Union Theological Seminary. With his children about him in Andover the Principal had a busy family life. When school hours were over, he used to drive in his old-fashioned chaise, with Fido, his brown and white dog, running under the carriage, to a farm which he had purchased near Sunset Rock, where he kept in touch with nature and found necessary relaxation. Mrs. Adams, who was a model housekeeper, never seemed burdened with her labors, and was also an efficient nurse, who spent many hours in giving aid to her sick neighbors. "She went about doing good," said Professor Moses Stuart. Her lovely flower garden was the finest in all the country round, and all her friends were remembered with choice blossoms.

Only a few months before her favorite son, William, was to graduate from Andover Theological Seminary, Mrs. Adams, who had long been suffering from illness, died, on February 23, 1829. The weather was so severe that no women attended the funeral; but Academy and Seminary students, all of whom had loved her, braved the storm in order to march to the churchyard. A tombstone given by the boys of

Phillips Academy was placed over her grave. Mrs. Sarah Stuart Robbins, daughter of Professor Stuart, wrote of her: —

> Mrs. Adams comes back to me as the type of a perfect and rounded motherhood. I remember her as a large woman with a full, frank face and light hair, through which ran soft threads of gray. A child friend on one knee and I on the other, her broad lap seemed to us the most cheerful resting-place in all the world. . . . I can never remember that she told us we were sinners or prayed with us; but she gave us big, red apples, the biggest and reddest that ever grew out of Eden, and she would tell us, as she watched us greedily devour them, how much nicer it was to be good and have such nice things than to be naughty and for that be shut up in some dark closet.

A little more than two years later the Trustees gave the Principal a vacation of four weeks, in the course of which he went to Troy, New York, where, on August 30, 1831, he married Mrs. Mabel Burritt. During his absence prayers were offered in the Seminary Chapel for his safety on his long and perilous journey. This second marriage was actuated, it appears, mainly by Adams's desire to provide his children with a mother's influence in his home.

Unfortunately the Principal's wedding was to be followed by the bitterest disappointment of his career. The height of his success in Phillips Academy was probably about 1825, when the attendance was the largest since the opening in 1778. Even then, however, a change was foreshadowed. Younger men of a new era were moulding the policy of the Trustees, and Adams, with his conservative nature, found himself out of accord with their views. His teaching

power, too, seems to have waned. One alumnus said in 1878: —

I think Mr. Adams, when I was a member of the school in 1825, was looked upon as somewhat antiquated in his ideas and methods of teaching. I have a vague impression that he was not thought to be quite progressive enough to content the Trustees and patrons of the school.

After 1825, when the numbers began to fall off, the subdued criticism made itself heard. It did not take the Principal long to ascertain the state of affairs, as a passage in a letter to his son William, October 1, 1832, indicates: —

You are mistaken in supposing that I wish to continue in the Academy. The fact is I cannot continue. I must resign my office as Principal, not because I think myself too aged, but because it is expedient. If the Trustees, or any of their number, feel that the best interest of the Academy will be promoted by the introduction of a younger man, how can I make up my mind to remain?

On November 22, Adams, at a meeting of the Board in Boston, read a formal letter of resignation, in which he reviewed his career at Andover, pointing out with due modesty his achievements and presenting unimpeachable statistics regarding the general growth and development of the school while under his charge.

The Trustees accepted his withdrawal, and voted him eight hundred dollars and the occupancy of his house for a year, "as an additional compensation." They passed also the following resolution: —

That this board entertain a high sense of the value of the services of Mr. Adams during his connection with them

as Principal of Phillips Academy, and assure him of their affectionate confidence and their deep interest in his future usefulness and happiness.

The kindly phrases of this vote only lightly veil the painful fact that he was compelled to leave his position, because he was thought to be superannuated. Consciousness of this fact brought him many dejected hours.

We may well pass briefly over the remaining years of his life — sad years, during which he struggled bravely against heavy odds. After selling his furniture and securing letters of recommendation from his friends, Professors Woods and Stuart, he left Andover in the spring of 1833, and filled for a short time a place as Principal of an academy in Elbridge, New York; then, like many a stout-hearted pioneer, he moved westward, first to Ohio and then to Jerseyville, Illinois, enduring many privations. In 1837 he took charge of a female seminary at Jacksonville, Illinois, and developed there a highly prosperous school. In 1842 he was appointed agent of the American Sunday-School Union in Illinois; and for the next twelve years "Father Adams," as he was called by the country people, drove from county to county in a buggy, organizing in all three hundred and twenty-two Sunday-Schools and earning nobly his pittance of four hundred dollars a year. Once he met an old pupil, Josiah Quincy, who accompanied him to the railroad station, saying as he did so to the ticket agent: "You should let this gentleman ride free; the country owes him interest money." We think of him in the lines of Wordsworth: —

> Preaching, administering, in every work
> Of his sublime vocation, in the walks
> Of worldly intercourse between man and man,
> And in his humble dwelling, he appears
> A laborer, with moral virtue girt,
> With spiritual graces, like a glory, crowned.

In the year 1854, when he had reached the age of eighty, Yale honored him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. On April 24, 1863, in his ninety-second year, he died, over three decades after he had been forced to resign, on account of old age, from his place in Andover.

In his prime Adams must have been an imposing figure. One writer gives us a glimpse of him as, in the South Church, "with the prestige of one born to command, he stepped up the broad aisle, his great ivory-headed cane coming in before him and ringing down with an emphasis not to be mistaken." One Seminary student, afterwards a Professor of Divinity, admitted that he never saw that familiar form, clad in gray and wearing a broad-brimmed hat, without standing a little straighter and putting on an air of professional gravity. Even in his old age Adams still retained his stately bearing.

As we survey Adams's administration as a whole, we can see clearly that the school made distinct progress, that it grew under his direction to be far more efficient, far more influential, than it had ever been before. If in the end he met with apparent failure, losing his grip, so to speak, on matters around him, it was because he could not bow to new men and new methods and yet was not strong enough to resist them. We shall do well, in making our final estimate,

to pay heed to his many decided virtues and to pass lightly over the last years of his régime. "Dr. Adams," said the Reverend William E. Park, "imparted an impulse which will never die to the institution into which he came as a moral force."

CHAPTER X

ZION'S HILL, AND ITS MEN AND WOMEN

Severely plain and utterly quiet Andover was, but it was not stagnant. The tides of intellectual life ran strong and high. The sense of being above and aloof resulted there in a feeling of proud responsibility and zeal for serious work. Professors and students alike felt themselves anointed kings and priests, with a momentous task to perform for the world.

ANDOVER in 1810 was a remote and isolated village. To it the mail-carrier came but thrice a week, and the letters which he bore cost twenty-five cents apiece. The inhabitants seldom saw a newspaper, except when one was brought from Boston. Where the busy city of Lawrence now stands, packed with mills and warehouses, there was only a small settlement. The peaceful Puritan Sabbath was nowhere more strictly observed than on Andover Hill. Travelers on the Lord's Day, no matter how urgent their business, were likely to be summarily arrested and fined. Sunday really began on Saturday at sunset, when all secular work was put away; on Sunday morning came an oppressive silence, broken rarely by the chime of church bells. After the morning service followed a cold dinner and reading from some pious manual, like the *Shorter Catechism*. When the sun disappeared on Sunday evening, play began for the children and the long day of restraint was over.

The growth of Andover Theological Seminary — that "citadel of old-fashioned orthodoxy" — gave Andover more importance, and its new buildings

soon transformed the Hill. On September 22, 1818, a great throng of people gathered to hear Dr. Ebenezer Porter's sermon dedicating Bartlet Chapel, now Pearson Hall. This structure, described by a contemporary as "vieing in elegance with any in the United States," was built by William Bartlet, at a cost of $23,374. It soon became the center of Hill life. The chapel room to the right on the first story was used for literary societies, prayer-meetings, elocutionary drill, public lectures, and Commencement exercises. On the platform in this room Mr. Bartlet sat when the artist, without his knowledge, made a sketch of him for the portrait which he had refused to have painted. Here the walls echoed on week-days with the voices of "theologues" practicing their sermons. On the floor above was the library, gradually growing larger. At the north end of each of the three floors was a lecture room for the professors of divinity.

Three years later Mr. Bartlet contributed $19,574 for Bartlet Hall, a dormitory to the south of Bartlet Chapel. In the dedicatory sermon, preached September 13, 1821, Professor Stuart said: —

> We can look back to little more than a period of ten years, when the whole ground on which we are assembled, and most of the vicinity, was but an uncultivated wild. Now we are furnished, in a most ample fashion, with all the edifices that are essential to the great object of the Seminary.

The three central buildings of Andover Theological Seminary were then complete, standing just as they do to-day. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's description of them is worth quoting: —

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND ELM ARCH IN 1825

BARTLET CHAPEL, NOW PEARSON HALL

All of brick, red, rectangular, and unrelieved; as barren of ornament and broken lines as a packing box, and yet curiously possessed of a certain dignity of their own; such as we see in aged country folk unfashionably dressed but sure of their local position.

A footpath led from the turnpike through the stone wall across a bush pasture to Phillips Hall, and a road was shortly built from Salem Street behind the "row."

On other adjacent streets carpenters and masons were at work. The so-called "Samaritan House" on Chapel Avenue (now the residence of the Principal) was constructed in 1824 as an infirmary for "theologues." Farther to the east in 1828 a "stone shell of a building" was put up at a cost of $2891.12, in which the divinity students found a passable substitute for football in the mildly stimulating exercise of making coffins. This gruesome pastime was later abolished, and the structure became the residence of Professor Calvin E. Stowe and his wife, Harriet Beecher Stowe, for whose occupancy it was completely renovated. The Double Brick House on Main Street was begun in 1829 as a "Commons" for Academy students, and was finished at a cost of $8795.83. The Phillips Mansion after the death of Madame Phillips came into the hands of the Trustees, and was used for a time as a boarding-house. About 1817 it was refurnished as a tavern, where, for many years, the stage, on its way to Boston, drew up with a mighty flourish of trumpets. Here the passengers on frosty mornings, recognizing "Brimstone Hill," the home of the Calvinistic tenets of sulphur and "ever-

lasting bonfire," used jokingly to hold out their hands for warmth. So prosperous was the Seminary that the Trustees, in 1814, were authorized by the General Court to hold property up to an annual income of $20,000. The resources of Phillips Academy, however, still remained small.

Meanwhile many of the old familiar faces were disappearing. In 1809 the Reverend Jonathan French, Clerk of the Trustees since 1778, died, and was succeeded as Trustee by Dr. Abiel Holmes[1] (1763–1837), father of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Two years later Samuel Hall Walley[2] (1778–1850), a prominent Boston merchant, was added to the Board. After the unfortunate death of Colonel John Phillips, of North Andover, in 1820, Jonathan Phillips[3] (1778–1860), a son of His Honor William Phillips, made another member of the Phillips family among the Trustees. In the same year the Reverend Justin Edwards[4] (1787–1853),

[1] Dr. Holmes, who was pastor of the First Church at Cambridge from 1792 to 1832, was also a Founder of the American Education Society and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and a Fellow of the American Academy. He was one of the most eminent clergymen of his time.

[2] Samuel H. Walley married in 1803 Miriam Phillips, the daughter of His Honor William Phillips, and the sister of Jonathan Phillips.

[3] Jonathan Phillips, a graduate of Phillips Academy in 1787, became a merchant, and, after inheriting his father's property, became a liberal benefactor of the Boston Public Library. He received an honorary degree from Harvard in 1818.

[4] Dr. Edwards, Valedictorian of his class (1810) at Williams, was elected pastor of the Old South Church in Andover in 1812, but resigned in 1827. From 1836 to 1842 he was President of Andover Theological Seminary. He was a Founder and member of several learned and philanthropic societies, and the author of many tracts and manuals. In physique he was tall, erect, and impressive, with stately manners. His sermons were practical in their application, but ardent in style and full of genuine eloquence.

the successor of Mr. French as pastor of the South Church, was chosen a member. When Dr. Pearson resigned the Presidency in 1821, his place was filled by His Honor William Phillips; thus for the last time a Phillips was President of the Trustees. At the latter's death in 1827 the Honorable Samuel Hubbard[1] (1785–1847), who had been made a Trustee in 1823, was elected President, and retained the position until his resignation in 1843. A graduate of Yale in 1802, Judge Hubbard represented the new era during which the influence of Harvard was to be less significant in Academy affairs. Of the five other Trustees elected under Adams, only one, Dr. John H. Church (1772–1840), was a Harvard man. Of the remaining four, the Reverend Benjamin B. Wisner (1794–1835), pastor of the Old South in Boston, was a graduate of Union; the Honorable William B. Banister (1773–1853), son-in-law of William Bartlet, was an alumnus of Dartmouth; Jeremiah Evarts (1781–1831), editor of the *Panoplist*, held a diploma from Yale; and Samuel T. Armstrong (1784–1850), Mayor of Boston and Lieutenant-Governor, was not a college graduate.

Dr. Pearson, who had moved in 1821 to Harvard, Massachusetts, continued to serve on the Board until his death. He still appeared occasionally in Andover, where the boys, with little respect for gray hairs, remembered him as an awe-inspiring, somewhat crotchety patriarch, whom they, for no definite reason,

[1] Judge Hubbard had a distinguished career as Representative, Senator, and Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and was honored by degrees from Yale (1827) and Harvard (1842).

called "Old Shad." Dr. Ray Palmer has described Pearson's last visit to the Hill: —

I recall that one day at the session of the school there came in a venerable man, trembling with years; he looked ninety years old; he walked into the room with Mr. Adams, and was announced as the former President Pearson, who had years before that ceased, on account of the infirmities of age, to attend the examinations, where he was always the terror of the young men, for he was exceedingly severe in his questions. He came in to look around, and remind us of a former generation.

He never again returned to the institution which he had done so much to create. In the summer of 1826 he managed to take the journey to the home of his daughter, Mrs. Ephraim Abbot, at Greenland, New Hampshire, where, after a painful illness, he died, September 12 in that year. He was buried in the Greenland cemetery, and his tomb was enclosed by an iron paling, on which was fastened a copper plate with a commendatory inscription in Latin. Until recently the grave of the man whom Dr. Waldo called "the Longinus who made Boston the Athens of New England" was absolutely neglected, and thick grass and trees had almost obscured the spot. Recently, however, the Trustees have appropriated money for its care, and the burial-place will not be forgotten.

In his last days Dr. Pearson had become overbearing and tyrannical, so that he often exhausted the patience of his colleagues. A letter from Josiah Quincy, the elder, to his wife, September 28, 1826, is, on this matter, full of enlightenment: —

I passed yesterday at Andover, the evening at the Board

of Trustees (it was their first meeting after the death of Dr. Pearson); all our business went smoothly. Dr. Pearson was coldly remembered; those who fill the places he created feel little gratitude toward him. I cannot blame them, considering all the trouble and vexation his papal humor caused to the occupants of those chairs. Yet I could not but feel, when I saw all his hopes of fame blasted, on the very spot where they had been cultivated. Every line of the Constitution of the Theological Seminary, every statute, breathed the spirit of Dr. Pearson; yet that spirit was gone, and his name and memory regarded with neither respect nor affection on the very place where he had spent the best of his days, and in an institution where he had bestowed the most earnest of his labors. The passions to which his overbearing nature gave birth will subside, and future times will do more justice to his memory than the present are disposed to yield. I could write a character not unfriendly of my old master, although on many accounts I have little reason. But he was no ordinary man, and I cannot refrain from remembering him with much respect and some affection.

It is pleasanter to think of Pearson as, in the prime of his manhood, he appeared to little William Adams, son of the Principal: —

There was something so grand and massive about him that it was easy and pardonable in a child to associate his name, Eliphalet, with the English word "elephant," rather than with its Hebrew etymology, as yet to him unknown. How deep and judicial were his tones as he addressed us in sonorous Latin on examination days; how his nostrils expanded like those of the war horse as he led the hymn to the tune of *Old Hundred.*

On May 26, 1827, another venerable personage, His Honor William Phillips, died in his seventy-eighth year. From 1812 to 1827 he gave $500 annu-

ally for the support of needy students in Phillips Academy; he contributed $5000 towards the Brick Academy; and in his will he bequeathed $15,000 to the Academy and $10,000 to the Seminary. It was said by Dr. Wisner at his funeral that Mr. Phillips had, for a series of years, spent for charitable purposes from $8000 to $11,000 a year; and through bequests he aided various institutions to the extent of $62,000. Towards the close of his life he kindly furnished Phillips Academy with portraits of its chief benefactors: Esquire Phillips, Dr. John Phillips, the Honorable William Phillips, and Judge Samuel Phillips.

The most interesting, as well as the most unusual personage on Andover Hill at this time was unquestionably the famous Samuel Farrar. Born December 13, 1773, in Lincoln, the son of a well-to-do farmer, he graduated from Harvard in 1797, and settled in Andover, first as a teacher in Phillips Academy, and later as a lawyer. At this time he was a victim of dyspepsia, and Madame Phillips, characteristically sympathetic, invited him to live with her at the Mansion House. There the Phillips family learned to admire his methodical habits and his cautious and exact method of doing business; through their influence he was elected in 1802 as a Trustee, and a year later was made Treasurer of the Board. He served as Treasurer until 1840, and as Trustee until 1846. He was the first President of the Andover Bank, holding the office from 1826 to 1856, and he was a Trustee of Abbot Academy from its foundation in 1828 until 1851. He married on October 30, 1814, Mrs. Phœbe Hooker, widow of the Reverend Asahel Hooker. He

died May 13, 1864, at the ripe old age of ninety-one.

'Squire Farrar, as he was called by everybody, was especially conspicuous because of the regularity of his habits. It is said that he allowed his family clock to run down only three times in forty years. Until long after middle life he sawed wood every morning before breakfast for exactly half an hour, and then held family prayers at precisely seven minutes after six. At the table he invariably asked grace in a standing posture, resting on the back of the chair, with one hand spread. On every fair day he took three walks, passing over a certain route on each, and so punctually that people at his approach were accustomed to verify their watches. There still remain in his own handwriting plans of these trips, which were carefully surveyed to the fraction of a rod. He carried always a gold-headed cane, the ferule of which was never permitted to touch the ground.

Because of these methodical habits 'Squire Farrar was an efficient, though also an autocratic, Treasurer, and much of the extraordinary material development of the Academy and the Seminary during the first decades of the century was conducted under his direction. Many of the buildings — not the most beautiful, it must be confessed — were designed by him; he set out most of the trees now standing on Andover Hill, including the shady Elm Arch through the Campus; and he shrewdly managed the real estate so that it brought in no inconsiderable revenue. He lent out the funds on bond and mortgage, so discreetly that not a single dollar was ever lost through poor

judgment. Although he was by no means a rich man, he could always be relied upon to put his hands to his purse when funds were needed; and he left to Phillips Academy in his will the sum of $12,000. His interesting character has been commemorated by Holmes: —

> Where is the patriarch time could hardly tire —
> The good old, wrinkled, immemorial 'squire?
> An honest treasurer, like a black-plumed swan,
> Not every day our eyes may look upon.

The twenty-two years which John Adams spent in Andover constitute a period of great beginnings. The American Board of Foreign Missions, formed in 1810, had commenced its work, and men like Adoniram Judson and Samuel Nott had gone forth into the "heathen world," encouraged by the prayers of students and teachers. When the first missionaries were ordained at Salem, February 6, 1812, the Principal allowed a few boys to go. William Goodell, afterwards a missionary in Turkey for forty-three years, and his friend, Asa Cummings, later editor of the *Christian Mirror*, walked there and back, thirty-four miles in all, in one day, with little refreshment.[1] Goodell was so exhausted that, when about a mile from home, he lost control of his muscles, and was helped by companions to his room, where he was "almost paralyzed by exposure, excitement, and excessive fatigue."

After Dr. Ebenezer Porter[2] (1772–1834) came to

[1] They were entertained at Salem by Mrs. Abel Lawrence, who offered to Cummings the rocking-chair, but he replied, "No; missionaries must learn to do without rocking-chairs." "But," said she, "you will take it, Mr. Goodell?" "Oh, yes, missionaries must learn to sit in *any kind* of chair," was the merry and characteristic reply.

[2] Ebenezer Porter, a Dartmouth graduate (1792), was pastor at Washington, 1796–1811, and was inaugurated at Andover, April 1,

Andover in 1812 as Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, his study, in what is known as the "President's House," became a center of New England Calvinism. There on Monday evenings John Adams met with a group of earnest men: Professor Leonard Woods, Professor Stuart, Dr. Justin Edwards, Deacon Mark Newman, 'Squire Farrar, and now and then a resident Trustee or some distinguished visitor who wished to join in the weekly discussion. Around the fireside these gentlemen, scorning "miserable aims that end with self," conceived and executed schemes many of which are in operation still. In 1815 they originated the American Education Society, of which Dr. Pearson was the first Chairman; they protested against Sabbath-breaking; in order to give publicity to their opinions, they started the *Boston Recorder*, the first religious newspaper in America; they founded the American Tract Society, in the support of which Dr. Woods and Principal Adams went to cities in the vicinity in order to collect money. Regular Concerts of Prayer for Colleges were first held in this room. Here in 1827, largely through the initiative of Dr. Edwards, the American Temperance Society [1]

1812. In 1827 he was made the first President of the Seminary, and served until his death, April 8, 1834. He published several books, including his famous *Rhetorical Reader* and *Lectures on Homiletics*. Dr. Porter was an invalid during most of his life, and was seldom free from pain. He was tall, "with a large head covered with stiff, gray hair," and he usually wore a yellow bandana tied about his throat, and a long dark cloak hanging from his narrow shoulders.

[1] John Adams, heartily in sympathy with the temperance movement, was one of the earliest in Andover to do away with liquor on his sideboard; and when, at his daughter's wedding, no wine was served, the fact was so unusual as to excite widespread comment.

was organized, "founded on the pledge of entire abstinence from intoxicating liquors." No wonder that Professor Austin Phelps, writing a generation later at a desk in that very library, said, "A great cloud of witnesses come in at my window to tell me of what Andover was in the olden time."

The little group has been called a body distinguished by "consecrated common sense." A few of them, like Edwards and Stuart, were inclined to be radical and aggressive; others, like Woods and Newman, were born conservatives; but their arguments never flared up into quarrels, and their diverse temperaments, through compromise and concession, were welded into one in the cause of humanity. Principal Adams was valued by them chiefly because of his sane and sober counsel. One of the members once said, "He seemed to know by instinct what would be the best way of doing the right thing."

Andover's claim to intellectual leadership was perceptibly strengthened by the establishment of the printing-office of Flagg and Gould, which superseded an earlier press started in 1799. It opened in the upper story of the angular and ugly building erected by Deacon Newman for his store, where the "theological boys and girls" used to buy sweet-flag and slippery elm. There Professor Stuart himself set the type for his *Hebrew Grammar*, until he could train his own compositor to do the work. On December 12, 1813, Professor Stuart sent to Dr. Pearson the proof of this book, the first volume with Hebrew type ever printed in this country. In 1821 Dr. John Codman gave one thousand dollars for the purchase of type to

be used in printing the Oriental tongues, and this gift was later increased by William Bartlet and others. By 1829 this press was supplied with type, not only for Hebrew, but also for eleven other Oriental languages. Here were published a large number of books by Andover men and women, including Robinson's *New Testament Lexicon*, Porter's *Rhetorical Reader*, and Stuart's *Letters to Channing*. Eventually over a hundred separate titles, the work of professors in the Seminary, were printed on the Hill. In 1832 a new brick building, north of the Stuart House on Main Street, was constructed especially for the press, and its scope was considerably enlarged.

Among the other important movements of this renaissance period the founding of the Abbot Female Seminary, now Abbot Academy, was not the least significant. This well-known school, the first incorporated institution in the Commonwealth for the education of girls, was made possible chiefly through the generosity of Mrs. Nehemiah Abbot,[1] for whom it was named. About 1827 this lady, in consultation with 'Squire Farrar, said unexpectedly, "What shall I do with my surplus funds?" He answered, "Found an Academy in Andover for the education of women." Following his suggestion she promptly pledged the sum of one thousand dollars, which was advanced by 'Squire Farrar. Early in 1828 meetings were held and

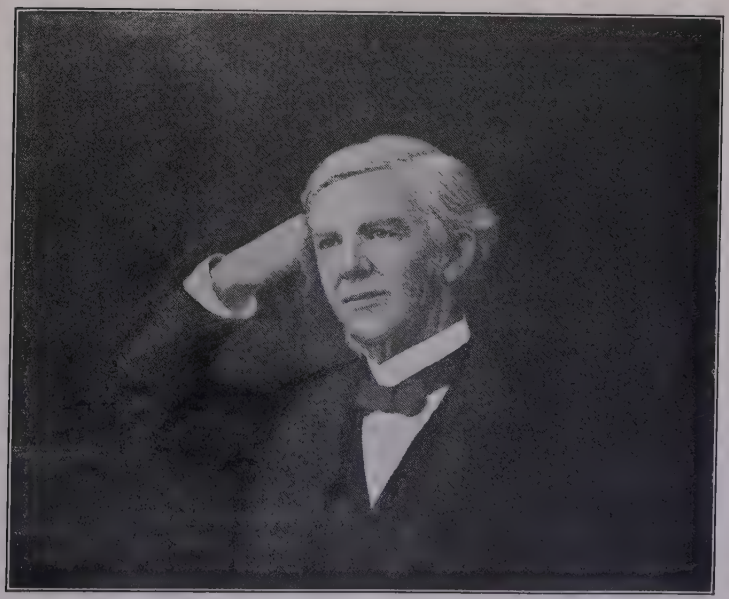
[1] Sarah Abbot was born October 3, 1762, the daughter of George Abbot and Hannah Lovejoy. Her grandmother was Mary Phillips, sister of the Reverend Samuel Phillips. She was thus a second cousin of Judge Phillips. She married Nehemiah Abbot, first Steward of the Seminary, who, at his death, left her the money which she later used for the benefit of Abbot Academy.

plans laid for the project, and the Constitution was signed on July 4 by seven Trustees, among them Farrar and Deacon Newman. The latter gave a lot of land on School Street; there the roof of the building was raised on October 28, and the school was actually opened May 6, 1829, under Mr. Charles Goddard as Principal. At Mrs. Abbot's death in 1848 the Abbot Academy Trustees received from her estate the sum of $10,109.05. The relations between Abbot Academy and Phillips Academy have uniformly been amicable, and on several occasions, notably at the time of anniversaries, the friendly interest of each in the other has been shown in substantial fashion.

One important event of Adams's administration was the visit of General Lafayette, who, an old man, was making in 1825 a tour through the land the freedom of which he had fought to establish. As he and his carriage companion, Josiah Quincy, approached Andover, the Frenchman asked Quincy to tell him something of the town. Keeping in mind the information which was proffered him, the General, when he was urged by the Andoverians to address them, spoke in highly complimentary terms of "that consecrated hill from which light had gone out to the heathen and religion to the ends of the earth." When Quincy returned to Andover, after escorting Lafayette to the New Hampshire line, he called upon Principal Adams, who expressed delight at the General's speech, but added: —

I was surprised at one thing: I knew in our religious world our school held a very high position, but I was unprepared to find that a man who had spent his days in

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, OF THE CLASS OF 1805



OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, OF THE CLASS OF 1825

courts and camps, who had been through the whole French Revolution, should have known so much about our Theological Institution.

In this period, remarkable for the general spirit of intellectual and philanthropic activity prevalent on Andover Hill, Phillips Academy had many students who grew to be distinguished men. Probably the most famous was Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94), who graduated in 1825. In his *Cinders from the Ashes* (1869) he describes humorously the journey by carriage from Boston to Andover, and the sad sensations which he felt when, deserted by his parents, he was left at Professor Murdock's house, — now the Treasurer's residence, — where he was to board: —

> Sea-sickness and home-sickness are hard to deal with by any remedy but time. Mine was not a bad case, but it excited sympathy. There was an ancient, faded lady in the house, very kindly, but very deaf, rustling about in the dark, autumnal foliage of silk or other murmurous fabrics, somewhat given to snuff, but a very worthy gentlewoman of the poor-relation variety. She comforted me, I well remember, but not with apples, and stayed me, but not with flagons. She went in her benevolence, and, taking a blue and white soda-powder, mingled the same in water, and encouraged me to drink the result. It might be a specific for sea-sickness, but it was not for home-sickness. The *fiz* was a mockery, and the saline refrigerant struck a colder chill to my despondent heart. I did not disgrace myself, however, and a few days cured me, as a week on the water often cures sea-sickness.

Although Holmes's experiences were not all of this discouraging kind, he did not have an altogether agreeable time in the classroom: —

I was put into a seat with an older and much bigger boy, or youth, with a fuliginous complexion, dilating and whitening nostril, and a singular malignant scowl. Many years afterwards he committed an act of murderous violence, and ended by going to finish his days in a madhouse. His delight was to kick my shins with all his might, under the desk, not at all as an act of hostility, but as a gratifying and harmless pastime. Finding this, so far as I was concerned, equally devoid of pleasure and profit, I managed to get a seat by another boy, the son of a very distinguished divine. He was bright enough, and more select in his choice of recreations, at least during school hours, than my late homicidal neighbor. But the principal called me up presently, and cautioned me against him as a dangerous companion. Could it be so? . . . Here was I, in the very dove's nest of Puritan faith, and out of one of its eggs a serpent had been hatched and was trying to nestle in my bosom! I parted from him, however, none the worse for his companionship so far as I can remember.

One of Holmes's most exciting diversions was watching one of the instructors, who had been warned by a dream that he would drop dead while praying, to see whether, when he led morning devotions, this grim prophecy would come true. The future poet's only literary performance at Andover was a translation from Virgil, with one "cockney rhyme": —

> Thus by the power of Jove's imperial *arm*
> The boiling ocean trembled into *calm*.

At the annual Exhibition of 1825, however, he delivered an essay on *Fancy*, which he described as highly inflated in style.

Among the other graduates who attained fame were at least three future college presidents: Henry Durant

(1802–75), the first President of the University of California; William Augustus Stearns (1805–76), President of Amherst College; and Leonard Woods, Jr. (1807–78), for twenty-seven years President of Bowdoin. Samuel Williston (1795–1874), who gave over $800,000 to endow Williston Seminary, and Luther Wright (1797–1870), its first Principal, were both Andover men. Nathaniel P. Willis belonged to the class of 1823; in the class before him was Isaac McLellan (1806–1904), lawyer, editor, and versifier, the author of the once widely quoted *Death of Napoleon*, —

> Wild was the night; yet a wilder night
> Hung o'er the soldier's pillow.

Horatio Greenough (1805–52), the "pioneer of American sculpture" and the architect of Bunker Hill Monument, left the school in 1815. There were also two anti-slavery agitators: Theodore Weld (1804–88), author of *American Slavery as It Is;* and Edmund Quincy[1] (1808–77). Among the clergymen and theologians were Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe (1808–89), Bishop of Central Pennsylvania; Thomas March Clark (1813–90), Bishop of Rhode Island; Dr. Horatio Balch Hackett; and Dr. Ray Palmer. Others also should be mentioned: George P. Marsh (1800–82), an American diplomat in Greece, Turkey, and Italy, and a distinguished scholar and author; Robert Ran-

[1] Edmund Quincy was the son of Josiah Quincy, the elder, and the brother of Josiah Quincy, of the class of 1811. After graduating from Harvard in 1827, he was associated with Garrison and Phillips in the abolitionist movement. He wrote the novel *Wensley*, dealing with Andover, and a *Life of Josiah Quincy*, his father.

toul (1807–52), Congressman and United States Senator; William Wheelwright (1799–1873), a pioneer business man in South America, who, after a romantic career, gave over $500,000 to the city of Newburyport, as a fund for providing boys with a scientific education; William Warner Hoppin (1808–90), Governor of Rhode Island; Wilson Flagg (1806–84), the naturalist and essayist; and Samuel Hopkins (1807–78), the historian. In no other period of equal length in the school history have there been proportionately so many pupils who later attained distinction.

At least sixty-five instructors were engaged at Phillips Academy during the twenty-two years of Adams's régime. A large proportion of them were, of course, theological students, who conducted a few courses in order to earn a moderate stipend. Among them were Gideon Lane Soule (1796–1879), afterwards associated with the Phillips Exeter Academy as Instructor and Principal; Miron Winslow (1789–1864), missionary for forty-six years in India; and John Taylor Jones (1802–51), missionary in Burmah and Siam, and translator of the Bible into Siamese.

So it was that Andover, between 1810 and 1830, became a "thought center," with influences radiating in many directions. Its vigorous intellectual life, quickened from time to time by the arrival of new professors, was a stimulus and inspiration to all those who studied there. The provinciality, intolerance, and inertness so characteristic of many New England towns were to be found only in rare cases on the Hill. The town itself was becoming famous. The

Codman Press was sending books and tracts to far-off pagan countries. Phillips Academy and Andover Theological Seminary, through their teachers and sons, were spreading their spirit beyond Massachusetts over the life of the nation.

CHAPTER XI

AN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT: THE TEACHERS' SEMINARY

That which our school-courses leave almost entirely out, we find to be that which most nearly concerns the business of life. . . . To prepare the young for the duties of life is tacitly admitted to be the end which parents and schoolmasters should have in view.

(SPENCER, *Essays on Education.*)

TOWARDS the close of John Adams's administration, in the spring of 1829, workmen were excavating a cellar on the northeast corner of Main Street and Chapel Avenue; and soon there rose an oblong, two-storied, massive edifice, with thick walls of rough gray stone, and a slanting roof, surmounted by a high wooden cupola or bell-tower, on which was perched an equally tall weather-vane. The architect was 'Squire Farrar, who, obsessed by a craving for simplicity, had created a style that was all his own, not Grecian or Gothic or colonial, but essentially "Farraresque." Bare, somber, and unrelieved by ornamentation, the building resembled a jail or tomb, and seemed to be at once the strongest and the ugliest structure ever produced by the hand of man. This Stone Academy, which frowned so grimly at every passer-by, was the only school hall known to several generations of Phillips boys.

The Stone Academy, however, was originally designed as a home for what was in that day a unique institution — an institution which, like the building, was mainly the conception of the versatile 'Squire

Farrar. The story of the "English Department," or "Teachers' Seminary," — the two titles were used almost indiscriminately, — has about it some decidedly interesting features, especially in the contrasts which it presents. Andover, already distinguished for at least three successful first ventures in the field of education, was now to be the scene of another experiment. Upon the old and conservative Puritan Academy was to be grafted a strange, exotic growth; an emphatically modern system of instruction was to push its way resolutely into the holy precincts of classicism. The new institution was to be a composite: normal school, scientific school, business and commercial school, agricultural college, and other less significant elements blended promiscuously into one. It was amorphous, heterogeneous, crude; but, grotesque though it was, it had qualities which could not wholly die. As a matter of fact, it was not unlike the scheme originally planned by Samuel Phillips, Jr., before he came under the influence of Pearson's masterful mind; but in the year 1830 it certainly had little in common with the Phillips Academy over which Principal Adams so haughtily presided and in which the boys seldom wandered far from texts in Latin and Greek.

When His Honor William Phillips died in 1827, he left to Phillips Academy the sum of $15,000. No restrictions were given regarding the use of this money; but 'Squire Farrar had been consulted by the testator, and knew his wishes, which happily coincided with his own. On October 31 a committee of the Trustees reported that, as the existing funds were sufficient

for the support of the Academy, the Phillips legacy ought to be used to establish an "English Classical School," to be independent of the Academy. On September 23, 1828, 'Squire Farrar was authorized to erect a separate building, and he, with Principal Adams and Dr. Wisner, was instructed to prepare a plan for such an institution.

During the early nineteenth century many people of a practical turn of mind were questioning the wisdom of putting all boys through the same classical mill; and progressive educators, aware of the common sense behind the language of the critics, were considering seriously the advisability of arranging a curriculum which would "prepare for life" and fit young men "to enter at once in the various occupations of men of business." The object was apparently to provide a reasonably adequate education for the many who could not go on to college. The plan obviously involved a fairly wide choice of subjects, substantially as in the modern "elective system"; and it also necessitated, not only the abandonment of many courses considered indispensable in the ordinary academy, but also the introduction of new studies of a radically different nature, subjects of a kind which could be of practical value after school days were over. In other words, the new institutions were to be broadly "vocational" as contrasted with the older "classical" or "cultural" academies. The businesslike aims of the advocates of such schools unquestionably made an impression on 'Squire Farrar, who was himself a man of a shrewd, hard-headed type.

Another important movement of this same period was concerned with the problem of training teachers for the common or grammar schools. Many young men, unfortunately without the means of acquiring a collegiate degree, were eager to secure the kind of instruction which would enable them to qualify as teachers in the lower grades. For them courses such as those offered in Phillips Academy were often a waste of time, and they demanded a curriculum not far removed in aim from that of our present-day normal school.

The originality of Farrar's plan is shown in the fact that it proposed to satisfy the demands of both groups; he resolved to combine under one head two distinct institutions — a technical high school and a normal school. In the first catalogue this purpose is explicitly stated: —

> The most prominent object is to educate Instructers [*sic*] of common and other schools. Another object is to educate practical men, for all the departments of common life.

The project was rapidly carried out. The Stone Academy was paid for, partly from the accrued income of the Phillips legacy and partly from the sale of land owned by the Trustees in Maine and Canada, the entire cost being $10,352.90. On June 29, 1830, when the building was nearing completion, the Board voted to put the "English Department" into operation, and it was formally opened in the following September. A Principal was found in the Reverend Samuel Read Hall (1793–1877), a Congregational minister, who, in 1823, in Concord, Vermont, had

opened a "Teachers' School," apparently the earliest normal school in the United States. For the work in this institution Mr. Hall prepared a course of *Lectures on School Keeping*, published in 1829, which made up the first textbook on pedagogical subjects printed in this country. 'Squire Farrar, a keen hand at a contract, was able, not only to secure Mr. Hall as the organizer of his project, but also to arrange matters so that the Trustees were relieved of any financial responsibility. Mr. Hall was to be paid no stated salary, but was to be allowed to hold the entrance and tuition fees of his students, and to fix the amount of these fees. His income, therefore, would depend entirely on his ability to develop a large and flourishing school. Although the Teachers' Seminary was to be for the most part separate from Phillips Academy, its affairs were to be administered by the same Board of Trustees.

The new institution opened without friction. The first catalogue, published in the spring of 1831, named eighty registered pupils, of whom forty-eight were from the town of Andover. Students were allowed to attend for any length of time from one term to six years; tuition was "to vary with the studies pursued — from four to eight dollars a term." There were four terms of eleven weeks each, "commencing in December, March, June, and September." The building, it was announced, was furnished with a magic lantern and several hundred slides, an electrical machine, globes, and maps, and was soon to have "Pneumatic Apparatus."

The features already pointed out are sufficient to

indicate the unusual character of the school. In other ways, however, its peculiarities were even more conspicuous. By 1832 the course of study had been arranged in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Hall and 'Squire Farrar. Students were divided into three groups: the "Teachers' Class," evidently an attempt at a normal school; the "General Department," where young men were "preparing for life"; and the "Model School," in which children were the unsuspecting victims of the incipient pedagogues in the "Teachers' Class." The curriculum included twenty-six separate subjects, among which Latin and Greek were not included: six were mathematical; several were scientific; and many, such as land surveying, civil engineering, moral and intellectual philosophy, evidences of Christianity, general history, the art of teaching, and civil government, can be classified only as miscellaneous. In addition special instruction at extra expense could be secured in French, German, philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, and electricity. An effort was made, apparently, to satisfy every longing of the human mind. The teachers were not to be "public hackneys in the schooling trade," —

> Who feed a pupil's intellect with store
> Of syntax truly, but with nothing more.

All knowledge was to be their province. Mr. Hall, an academic "Pooh Bah," must have been regarded as both omniscient and indefatigable. He did, it is true, have assistants, but their talents were more limited: Lionel Tenney, for instance, was Teacher of the Model School; Hanning G. Linburg was Teacher of

French; and Thomas D. Smith taught the "Carstairian System of Writing." Two "theologues" were also employed, one of them as Instructor in Vocal Music, a subject instruction in which, it is stated, is gratuitous.

Mr. Hall, in the leisure torn from his variegated duties, was an inveterate textbook-maker. His *Arithmetical Manual* (1832), his *Grammatical Assistant* (1833), and his *School History of the United States* (1833) were prepared especially for his own classes, but had also a wide sale elsewhere. He also contributed articles to educational periodicals, and spoke frequently at teachers' meetings all over New England. Frederick A. Barton (1809–81), Mr. Hall's first assistant from 1831 to 1837, was the author of volumes on trigonometry and land surveying, and found time also for a course at the Andover Theological Seminary which led to his ordination. There were no "slackers" on the faculty of the Teachers' Seminary.

Contemporary verdicts on this new movement in education were, on the whole, highly favorable. A writer in the *Annals of Education* for August, 1832, gives a full account of the school, from which extracts deserve quotation: —

> School books of a good character are selected, and the most improved methods of instruction adopted. But, while books and apparatus and hard study are deemed indispensable to thorough and efficient progress, much is accomplished by familiar lectures, giving the student ample opportunity for asking questions, suggesting doubts, etc. No attempts are made to hurry through a science for

the sake of having gone through it; but constant, and, as it appears to me, successful efforts are made to teach everything to which the pupil's attention is called, thoroughly.

In both departments of the school, there is nothing of that routine of mere memory work which is so often witnessed in our schools. Those methods are pursued, generally speaking, in every exercise, which give employment to the whole intellect, and not to certain favored faculties merely, while the rest are suffered to lie neglected.

In both departments of the institution every branch is pursued, as far as possible, independently of every other. By this is meant that every study has its appropriate hour and space, and when that hour arrives, it is exclusively attended to. In the higher departments, the exercises for every day of the week are written down plainly and minutely, and a monitor rings a bell at the arrival of the time for every new exercise. So exact is the order, and so accustomed to it have the students become, that, so far as discipline is concerned, it matters little whether the teachers are present or absent, provided the monitor performs his duty.

The higher branches of the mathematics, geography, grammar, history, composition, drawing, philosophy in its various divisions, chemistry, political economy; indeed everything to which the attention of the pupil is called, is pursued, so far as I could ascertain, in the same rational and thorough manner, as spelling, reading, and arithmetic. Not only is everything rendered intelligible, but interesting; and the thinking powers of the pupil are called into useful activity. During my visit a course of chemical lectures was commenced by an assistant, which promised to be highly practical and useful. Music is taught in the Seminary, and a hymn is also sometimes sung in connection with the religious exercises.

But what rendered this Seminary most deeply interesting to me, was the conviction which I was unable to

resist, that all its methods, and plans, and processes, were eminently adapted to the development and formation of character. As a place of instruction, it justly ranks high; and I do not believe it has been too highly appreciated. But as a place of education it has still higher claims. Knowledge of the best kind is successfully circulated by the best means; but the capacity and disposition to make the best use of Knowledge is regarded as of still more importance.

This last paragraph indicates that the Teachers' Seminary, although in many respects decidedly different in aims from Phillips Academy, had maintained the traditions and spirit of the parent institution.

Notwithstanding the public approbation which it deserved and received, the Teachers' Seminary was not at all profitable to Mr. Hall, who was far from pleased, therefore, with the financial arrangement imposed upon him by the Trustees. On May 14, 1834, a committee issued a printed appeal for funds, stating that their available resources had been exhausted in erecting buildings and buying apparatus. The response to this urgent call was unsatisfactory, and by the close of 1836 only some $2200 had been collected. In 1835 the Trustees voted to call the school the "Teachers' Seminary," and to abandon the term "English Department"; they hoped by this step to draw attention to the value of the course to young men planning to become teachers in the common schools. At the same time the curriculum, designed primarily for these advanced students, was made to extend over three years, the classes being called Junior, Middle, and Senior. Each year, also, was divided into three terms, with the anniversary exercises tak-

THE BRICK ACADEMY, NOW THE DINING-HALL

THE STONE ACADEMY

ing place the first week in July. The subjects pursued were still of a miscellaneous character. The number enrolled in 1835 was 190, of whom 114 were in the "Teachers' Department."

On April 18, 1837, Mr. Hall, who had been getting more and more disgruntled, sent in his resignation, and went to Plymouth, New Hampshire, to found a similar school. On June 14 the Reverend Lyman Coleman (1796–1882), then Principal of Burr Seminary, Manchester, Vermont, was named as Hall's successor, and he accepted the position, with the provision, however, that he should receive a regular salary of $1200, and thus be freed from any business relations with his pupils. Mr. Coleman at once restored the former title of "English Department," and substituted for the old statement an entirely new outline of the curriculum: —

> The course of study occupies three years, and is designed to be substantially the same as a course of collegiate education with the exception of the ancient languages. Those who may wish to pursue a more limited course, may attend any of the recitations in the regular classes for which they are qualified; and to those who may wish to pursue a more extended course opportunity will be offered.

At this date the number enrolled was only seventy-four.

In the autumn of 1839 Mr. Coleman, evidently ambitious to make the organization somewhat less chaotic, modified it along new lines. There was a "Teachers' Department" in three classes, Junior, Middle, and Senior; there was a "General Depart-

ment," designed to meet the wants of those "who desire to pursue a more limited course"; and there was also a "Preparatory Department," for boys of from eight to fifteen, "taught by students from the higher classes of the Teachers' Department, under the special supervision of the Instructor in the General Department." This scheme, which harked back to Mr. Hall's original plan, was evidently successful, and by 1840 the school, with one hundred and fifty-four pupils, was regaining its prestige. In this year Mr. Coleman seems to have evolved a new theory of the purposes of the institution: —

> The plan . . . is that of an English High School, occupying an intermediate grade between our common academic institutions and our colleges. The object of this system of instruction . . . is not to hurry the student through a superficial course, teaching a little of everything and nothing to any good purpose; but to lead him to begin a thorough course of mental discipline, and to pursue it as far as circumstances will permit. To such as continue with us a sufficient length of time it offers essentially the advantages of a college education in the several departments of English literature.

It will readily be seen that the Teachers' Seminary was rapidly turning into an English high school, like the famous institution in Boston, and that the time was coming when it was to have more in common with Phillips Academy.

Throughout this period the school as it was actually conducted was considerably different from what it appeared to be on paper. Students attended classes very irregularly, and the printed registration

was far from affording an idea of the number of pupils who remained through the year. In 1839, from seventy-five to a hundred of the students were employed during the winter as teachers in some of the small district schools around Boston. Divisions were formed to suit the wishes of the students, and not at all in accordance with the advertised plan. The curriculum varied from month to month; occasionally a new subject, at the suggestion of an eager group of pupils, would be introduced experimentally, and other courses, for which there happened to be then no particular demand, were temporarily dropped. The students themselves, so far as we can determine, resolved what courses they wished to pursue, and their desires were gratified by their instructors.

The value of the buildings and equipment in 1839 was estimated at over $30,000. The Seminary possessed a chemical laboratory in the basement of the Stone Academy, and a good supply of apparatus; a room fitted out with "philosophical apparatus," for experiments in what we now call physics; an extensive cabinet of minerals to illustrate the study of geology; a complete field set of instruments for practical surveying and civil engineering; and a library of eight hundred and fifty volumes. The Preparatory Department was located in a separate wooden building near the Stone Academy. An adjacent farm, under good cultivation, gave students working their way a chance to earn money by manual labor, and also allowed tests to be made in experimental agriculture. This farm furnished much of the food for the boarding-house, where most of the students took

their meals, the price being in 1839 about $1.25 a week. The six English Commons dormitories were occupied by eighty or ninety scholars, the charge for rent being three dollars a term. All those who boarded in Commons were required to labor at least two hours a day on the farm.

The instruction in "Scientific and Practical Agriculture" was given by Alonzo Gray (1808–60), who came in 1836 to the Teachers' Seminary as an assistant. He soon wrote a textbook on the subject, in which he devoted much attention to the analysis of soils and the application of chemistry to agriculture. It has been said that, with the possible exception of Troy Polytechnic Institute, the Teachers' Seminary at Andover was the first school in America to offer courses of this kind. Not for at least twenty-five years were there any regularly organized agricultural colleges.

The tuition fee, which was subject to fluctuations, was normally fifty cents a week, collected in advance. As in Phillips Academy, arrangements were made for the lending of money to indigent boys, and there were also opportunities for them to earn their board at private houses in the town.

Mr. Coleman as a teacher was certainly efficient, and his assistants, Mr. Gray and William Harvey Wells[1] (1812–85), were far abler than the assistants

[1] William H. Wells was born at Tolland, Connecticut, and taught for a year or two in the East Hartford Academy before coming to the Teachers' Seminary in 1836. After the union in 1842, he continued as Head of the English Department, where he remained until 1847. After leaving Phillips Academy he was successively Principal of the Putnam Free School in Newburyport (1847–54), Principal of the West-

in Phillips Academy at that period. In 1842 the school had grown to two hundred and one, the largest number since its foundation. But the prosperity was apparent rather than real. The available funds had always been small, and, notwithstanding efforts toward "retrenchment and reform," debts accumulated. Furthermore, those connected with the classical Academy were inclined to look with contempt on the Teachers' Seminary, and to underestimate its value. Mr. Coleman in after days wrote, not without bitterness:—

> The high and deserved reputation of Phillips Academy, its overshadowing influence, its total lack of sympathy and coöperation, served to cast into shades and distance the Teachers' Seminary, and to give it the air of an abandoned orphan rather than a cherished part of the venerable institution.

'Squire Farrar, who had resigned as Treasurer in 1840, no longer possessed paramount influence on the Board; moreover, his initial enthusiasm for the Teachers' Seminary was waning. At any rate, he made no objection when the Trustees decided that, mainly for motives of economy, the Seminary must be merged with the Academy, and that the two schools must be continued under one system of administration. Mr. Coleman and Mr. Gray were discharged, "for want of means to retain them." On August 12, 1842, the two institutions were formally joined, the Teachers' Seminary becoming merely the "English

field State Normal School, and Superintendent of Schools in Chicago (1856–64). He published an *English Grammar* in 1846, and contributed educational articles to many magazines.

Department" of Phillips Academy. The catalogue for 1843 contains a division of the students into two departments, Classical and English, which have since that date remained coördinate.

The actual changes resulting from the merger in 1842 were not at all radical. For many years — in fact, until Dr. Bancroft's time — the Principal of the English Department continued to be an officer with distinct authority of his own, and to some extent removed from the jurisdiction of his nominal superior, the Principal of the Academy. The classical pupils continued to treat superciliously the boys on the English side. The carefully planned curriculum arranged by Mr. Coleman was never actually put into practice, and the standards continued to be low. There can be no question that the English Department was actually neglected by the Trustees — especially during the administration of Samuel H. Taylor, who made no attempt to conceal his indifference towards the work and aims of the non-classical school.

'Squire Farrar's experiment, in spite of its defects, its inconsistencies, and its unavoidable failures, did, in the end, contribute an important element to the educational system of Phillips Academy. Since 1842 there have been two separate courses of study, one classical and the other scientific. Because of this arrangement Phillips Academy was able, when the great scientific colleges came into prominence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to prepare its students to meet their requirements. To remain exclusively classical, to refuse to recognize the spirit

of the age, would have been then to court disaster. The Scientific Department in the school to-day, as it has developed from the crude Teachers' Seminary, is certainly not out of harmony with the scheme of education planned by Samuel Phillips, Jr.

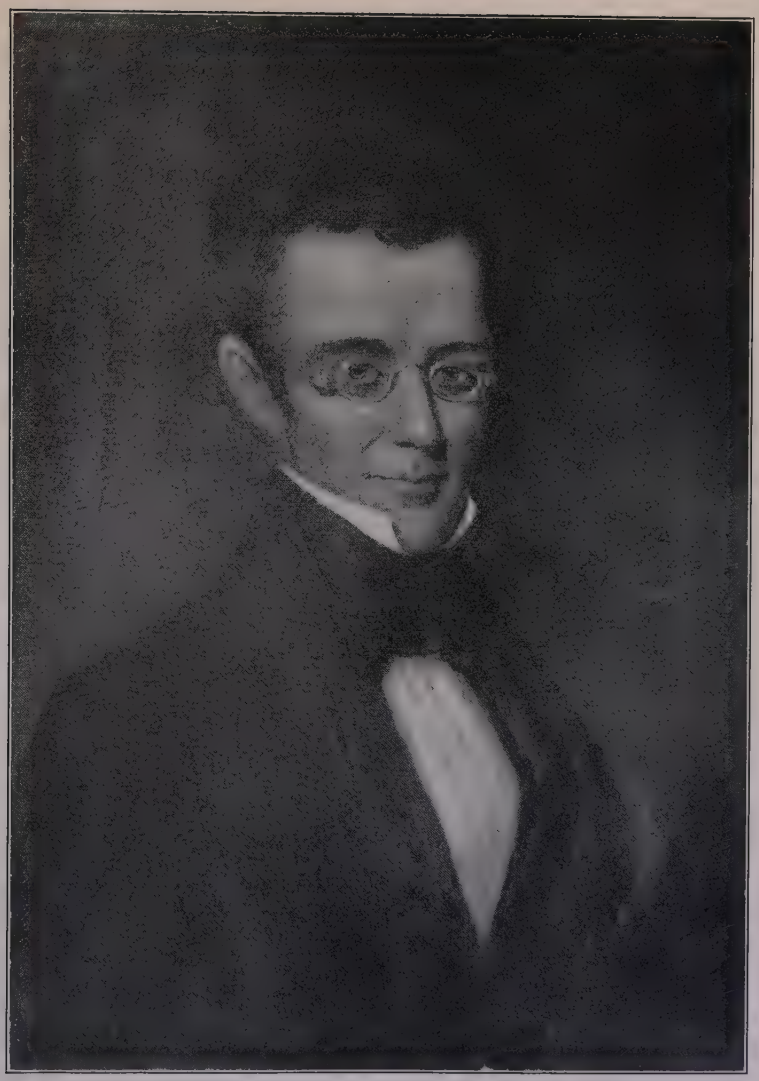
CHAPTER XII

A SCHOLAR-POET: OSGOOD JOHNSON

> Beyond the book his teaching sped;
> He left on whom he taught the trace
> Of kinship with the deathless death.

Before the unfortunate John Adams had started upon his forlorn pilgrimage to the West, the Trustees had agreed upon his successor — a pale, slight, scholarly young man named Osgood Johnson, who had been, since 1829, Adams's most reliable assistant. One or two of the Principals have, perhaps, been overpraised; Johnson, on the contrary, has never received the appreciation which he merits. His career was brief, and his premature death prevented the consummation of many of his plans; while he lived, moreover, he was so constantly hampered by ill health that he had only rare opportunities of displaying his real ability. Thus his few short years in Phillips Academy, followed and overshadowed by the long and vigorous administration of Samuel H. Taylor, have been ignored, sometimes even forgotten, by the annalists. Johnson was neither robust nor aggressive; but he had intellectual keenness, unsullied ideals, and a magnetic personality. He was a sensitive, high-strung gentleman, a student and a poet, whose active untiring mind literally burned out his frail physique, —

> A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
> Fretted the pigmy body to decay
> And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.



OSGOOD JOHNSON

He was rated as one of the finest classical scholars of his time. Confronted with the rougher work of ruling over Phillips Academy, Johnson faced his duties with enthusiasm and willingly put his genius into harness. It was a sad stroke of fate which brought him to his death before he could see his achievement approved.

Osgood Johnson, son of Osgood Johnson and Fanny Abbot, was born September 9, 1803, in the West Parish of Andover. Graduating from Phillips Academy in 1823, he went on to Dartmouth College, where he took his Bachelor's degree, *summa cum laude*, in 1828. For a year he remained at Hanover as a tutor; then came an invitation to return to Andover as assistant in the Academy. It was not long before Adams came to depend largely upon Johnson's extraordinary gifts as a teacher, and, when the Principal resigned, it was almost inevitable that Johnson should be appointed in his place. For a little over a month he served as Acting Principal, and on January 1, 1833, he was tendered a permanent position, which he accepted in a letter read before the Trustees on March 20. Before this he had married Lucretia Bly, of Hanover, New Hampshire. In 1831 he had moved with his family into the Samaritan House on Chapel Avenue, where he resided until his death.

It was Johnson's untoward plight to be weighted from the very opening of his administration with too much responsibility. 'Squire Farrar was determined that the system of financial management already inflicted upon Mr. Hall of the Teachers' Seminary should also be applied to Phillips Academy. The basis of the scheme was that the Principal should re-

ceive as a salary the tuition of the scholars and should, out of this sum, pay the expenses of his assistants. Farrar had obviously two objects in view: first, to stimulate the Principal to activity in increasing the number of paying students; second, to insure the Trustees against financial loss in case of any marked falling-off in attendance. It is enough to say of the proposition that it practically compelled Johnson to assume the functions and obligations of business manager as well as of teacher and administrator. Fortunately, he was altogether too honest to resort to unscrupulous methods in enlarging the school; moreover, he was independent enough to protest manfully against the arrangement, which he considered to be both unjust and dangerous. He accepted the contract, it is true, but only at 'Squire Farrar's urgent request; and when it had been tested in operation, Johnson submitted to the Board on several occasions his well-grounded objections to it and to the theory upon which it was based. Finally, on April 28, 1834, the Trustees passed a resolution, which, by guaranteeing him one thousand dollars a year and his house, practically nullified their previous action. As matters worked out, the Farrar policy was ultimately abandoned, and Johnson was paid simply his specified salary. Since that date the Principal of Phillips Academy has been relieved of the responsibility of attending to the financial problems of the institution.

As a teacher Johnson was remarkably efficient. He governed without harshness, but with perfect self-control, through the love and respect which he inspired in his pupils. His methods were quite unlike

those of Pearson and Adams. Quiet, but always searching and thorough, he was quick to detect faults in preparation, and he had a gift of restrained sarcasm, with which he was accustomed to wither those who failed to meet his severe requirements. At the same time he delighted in any exhibition of accurate scholarship or of literary skill in rendering the classics into idiomatic English. He rarely carried a book into the classroom, but did all his instruction from memory, —

> Wearing all that weight
> Of learning lightly like a flower.

He never resorted to bullying or to browbeating, nor did he administer any form of corporal punishment. Isaac P. Langworthy, one of his pupils, has left an excellent description of his methods: —

> As a teacher, I never knew one more thorough, lucid, patient, or inspiring. I never saw him disconcerted. He was always self-poised, awake to every emergency; and having full command of his varied and broad resources, he could meet every exigency incident to his responsible position with most admirable tact and skill. . . . When he became Principal, he at once began the gradual elevation of the standard of scholarship, keeping it abreast, if not in advance, of the best Academies in the country.

William H. Wells, instructor in the Teachers' Seminary, was much impressed with what he heard of Johnson: —

> Mr. Osgood Johnson did not teach any after I went to Andover, but the whole atmosphere was long fragrant with delightful memories of his fine classical culture and taste, and his great excellence as a teacher.

Of those who have written of the Principal, not one

mentions him except with deference and kindliness, and nearly all refer to his "gentle, winning way." To him the words of Holmes are aptly applied: —

> A loving soul to every task he brought,
> That sweetly mingled with the lore he taught.

Johnson, who was no innovator, made little change in the daily schedule. Chapel exercises were still held in the Brick Academy, with much the same programme as that used by Adams. Dr. John P. Gulliver has given his vivid reminiscences of a morning service about 1835: —

No sooner was that wooden foot heard in the entry than we were all hushed. Every eye was fixed upon him with respect as he entered. Levi Wilder at the upper end of the room stopped tuning his violin. We rose in silence, while Mr. Johnson pronounced a brief invocation, uniformly asking that our morning devotions might be performed as "seeing him who is invisible." Then followed a few verses of Scripture, so read that a hidden radiance was made to flash out from its depths, as when a skilled lapidary holds before you a gem, so adjusted that all its inner light beams upon your surprised vision. Then came the hymn; and was there ever such reading of a hymn? With feeble voice, but with distinct articulation and melodious cadence, he would read such a hymn as, —

> Oh, could I speak the matchless worth!

till the silence became oppressive, and the tears would start in spite of us. Then Wilder would draw his bow very gently for the final preparation, and lifting his head as high as possible, to make up for his lack of inches, would start the "service of song." And what singing that was! We had just passed through a powerful revival in which nearly every member of the two Academies had been hopefully converted. We all sang as well as we could. Then fol-

lowed the prayer. If anybody had failed before to perceive Mr. Johnson's wonderful elevation both spiritual and intellectual, one of his prayers would be enough to inspire a respect bordering on veneration. He transported us into that unseen world, where he seemed habitually himself to dwell.

It may be that this picture is somewhat overdrawn; but there is other evidence also that Johnson often lent a profound emotional significance to matters usually treated with conventional dullness.

The most striking incident of Johnson's administration was undoubtedly the so-called "Anti-Slavery Rebellion," which for a time seemed likely to disrupt the Academy. In the year 1835 the problem of negro slavery was, thanks to the efforts of political agitators, already a burning issue in New England. William Lloyd Garrison had established his *Liberator* in January, 1831, and for a time he was met with sympathy and aid from prominent clergymen. When, however, he commenced to assail the Colonization Society, formed by those interested in foreign missions with the purpose of transporting American negroes to Africa and of Christianizing the African countries, he became unpopular with those orthodox churches which had been contributing money and missionaries to help the colonization plans. Several professors in Andover Theological Seminary took a conspicuous part in opposing abolition, and their attitude extended to those in authority over Phillips Academy. Rules were passed in the Seminary and the Academy forbidding the formation of any anti-slavery society. The ostensible reason was that such organizations

would bring odium on the institutions, and keep away Southern students.

Late in 1834 Garrison brought to America George Thompson, the brilliant English anti-slavery orator, whom Sir Robert Peel once described as "the most eloquent man in or out of Parliament." In the course of a lecture tour of Massachusetts he met with some rough treatment from hostile mobs, but succeeded also in arousing some enthusiasm for his cause. In 1835, desirous of confronting the Seminary professors on their own ground, he came to Andover, and applied for permission to speak in the Seminary Chapel and in the South Church, but was refused in both cases. He finally found a hall in the town, and there, despite the maledictions of Professor Stuart and the prohibitions of Mr. Johnson, many "theologues" and "cads" (as the academy boys were frequently called) attended the meetings. At a five o'clock gathering in Bartlet Chapel on Sunday afternoon Professor Stuart, after referring in a scathing voice to a lecture announced by Thompson for that evening, said: "I warn you, young gentlemen, I warn you on the peril of your souls, not to go to that meeting to-night." It is certain that these adjurations and threats did not prevent Thompson from being greeted warmly by a large audience whenever he chose to make an address in Andover.

The crisis in Phillips Academy came when a student named Sherlock Bristol, somewhat excitable and pugnacious in temperament, disregarded the Principal's specific command and, at one of the Wednesday afternoon speaking contests, delivered an inflamma-

tory harangue against slavery. The effect of his oratory was sensational, and the act could not, of course, be ignored. At the chapel exercises the following morning, with all the students and teachers present, Johnson arose to condemn in solemn fashion Bristol's alleged insubordination. When he began, in slow and measured speech, to rebuke the disobedient pupil, the excitement was intense. Johnson finished by dismissing him from Phillips Academy; and then Bristol, who had sat passive under the arraignment, arose with much self-control and asked to be allowed to defend himself. Johnson, however, his face perfectly white with suppressed passion, ordered him to be seated. Bristol afterwards entered Oberlin College, and ended his days in comparative obscurity as pastor of a small church in southern California.

On July 11, a few days later, the anti-slavery students, indignant at the treatment accorded to Bristol, met to form an abolitionist society, and presented a petition to the Principal asking for his sanction. Their demands having been refused, they gathered on July 15 in the Academy Hall and marched in a body to Indian Ridge, where, under the tall pines, they opened their meeting with prayer. A terrible thunderstorm which broke over their heads did not dissuade them from their purpose. They made a permanent organization with Bartholomew Wood of Newton Centre, as President, appointed several committees, and prepared a lengthy remonstrance which was signed by eighty-eight members. This petition was also disregarded, and the society, convening again on July 22, voted to present another document

asking for an "honorable dismission" from the Academy. This paper, a copy of which still exists in the archives, was signed by fifty students. Johnson's reply seemed to these courageous members to be indefinite and equivocating, and a large number, accordingly, submitted written resignations and left town. Of the forty or more who took this decisive step, only two were minors; the others were citizens, of voting age, a few of them nearly as old as Johnson himself. One of them was David Thayer, afterwards a distinguished Boston physician. When he returned thus unexpectedly to his home in Braintree, Richard Salter Storrs, a pro-slavery advocate, said to him, "You ought to be made to go back and beg pardon on your knees." His father and grandfather, however, applauded his conduct. Of the total number of "rebels" only two or three ever reëntered the school; the others, who were practically graduates, readily found their way into various colleges. Several of them, as men more than middle-aged, actually took part in the great Civil War, of which their own little "rebellion" was merely a prelude.

Before Johnson's administration closed, the Commons dormitories so familiar to Phillips alumni had been built and were being occupied. This step marks a change of policy highly significant in the history of the school. In order to understand it clearly it is necessary to return to the year 1830, when the Trustees, at the instigation of the indefatigable 'Squire Farrar, determined that it would be wise to allow students a greater degree of freedom. Up to that time the boys, even when not occupied with recitations, had been

obliged to sit with their books before them in the Academy Hall. On June 28, 1830, the Trustees voted that certain boys "of orderly deportment and studious habits" might be permitted to study in their own rooms during portions of the day. This policy, with minor modifications, has been followed consistently ever since, and is to-day an integral part of the "Andover system."

Out of this resolution of 1830 grew logically a further extension of the theory behind it. It had never seemed advisable to the Trustees to put into operation that provision of the Constitution authorizing them to erect a "large, decent building, sufficient to accommodate at least fifty scholars with boarding, beside the master and his family"; but several members were now convinced that the hour had arrived for housing as many boys as possible in school dormitories. 'Squire Farrar, who was never really happy unless some addition to the plant were being projected, was especially eager in his advocacy of this scheme, and, exerting his extensive authority as Treasurer, he proceeded to take the necessary measures. By August, 1834, under his direction, five "Academic Halls," as they were originally called, were completed in their location on the north side of Phillips Street, and one more was added before the year closed. By the autumn of 1835 the row of "Latin Commons," as the boys of Dr. Bancroft's time knew them, were occupied by students. In 1834, also, a similar group was begun for the Teachers' Seminary, and within two years six "Teachers' Halls," or "English Commons," were ready, placed in a line parallel to the

Latin Commons, and about a quarter of a mile to the north. The total cost of these dormitories was $17,999.11, an average of $1500 apiece.

'Squire Farrar, who boasted of being his own architect, was a frank utilitarian, with a practical man's contempt for beauty as an end in itself. The new buildings thus preserved in their general outlines that unadorned simplicity characteristic of the packing-box. They were all framed on the same model, like a row of tenements; clapboarded, wooden structures, three stories high, painted a rusty yellow, with small windows and a wide door in the middle of the street side. The interior arrangements, however, were reasonably convenient and commodious. On each floor were two suites, composed of a study and two bedrooms; thus each building was fitted out well for twelve occupants. The floors were connected by narrow, winding staircases, from the strategic points of which it was easy to throw water on students coming up. The rooms were heated by stoves, for which each resident secured his own fuel; and the ashes, sometimes with the glowing embers clearly visible, were usually hurled recklessly down the cellar stairs, regardless of the danger of a conflagration. How the Commons lasted for nearly seventy years with only two destructive fires is an unsolvable mystery. Toilet facilities were, to say the least, primitive. Bathrooms were unknown everywhere at that period, and the only lavatory was the Commons pump, from which the more fastidious carried a daily supply of water in buckets or milk cans to their bedrooms. The furniture, never too sumptuous or plentiful, became

THE LATIN COMMONS, ON PHILLIPS STREET

THE ENGLISH COMMONS

more and more battered as it passed from one destructive generation to another. The Commons were certainly far from luxurious, and the boys who lived in them were not pampered. It must be added, however, that even the most despondent victim was unlikely to complain of not receiving his money's worth, for the rent of the rooms was fixed at one dollar a term; and when, in 1856, this was raised to three dollars, the old rate was still kept for "scholarship boys."

The erection of the Commons involved, as we have said, some vital changes in school government. Phillips Academy had now embarked upon the policy of housing boys under its own roofs. One immediate result was a decided addition to the amount of personal liberty allowed to the boys. Under the scheme in vogue in Newman's time every student, no matter how mature, had to conform to many petty and vexing regulations; the new system, although it provided for an instructor resident in Commons, practically left the occupants to themselves. As a matter of fact no teacher lived in Commons until 1847, and the boasted supervision amounted merely to a perfunctory inspection once a week by a callous member of the Faculty. As the hour of this visitation was usually known well in advance, it was not difficult for the boys to prepare matters so that the instructor should gain a favorable impression. Naturally the enforcement of strict discipline outside the classroom was almost impossible, for the Commons boys could wander out, day or night, whenever they chose, and could stay practically as long as they liked. They were, indeed,

as independent as if they had been in a college. This plan of placing students on their own responsibility had much to recommend it, and, under the stern necessity of caring for themselves, not a few youngsters grew strong and self-reliant. Life in Commons, however, was not adapted to the weak, the immature, and the unstable.

On August 6, 1836, great crowds assembled in Andover to watch the first locomotive on the Andover and Wilmington Road steam down the old track, across the foot of Phillips Street, into the station, eight miles away from its starting-point at Wilmington, where it joined the Boston and Lowell line. This Andover and Wilmington Company, incorporated on March 15, 1833, by a group of Andover business men with a capital stock of $100,000, was the first link in the system now operated by the Boston and Maine. The coming of the railroad was to open up a new era for Phillips Academy. Before 1836 young men frequently overcame almost insuperable obstacles in trying to reach the school. William Goodell in 1811 walked sixty miles, from his home in Templeton to Andover, carrying his trunk on his back. David Kimball, a printer's apprentice at Concord, New Hampshire, walked, on his twenty-first birthday in 1812, forty miles in one day to Andover Hill. In 1815 Samuel Marsh, of Danville, Vermont, "being desirous of preaching the Gospel, left home for Andover, going most of the way on foot, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles." James W. McLane, of the class of 1825, afterwards a distinguished Biblical scholar, rode to Andover from North Carolina on horseback

at the age of twenty-one. There are other similar cases recorded, especially during the administration of John Adams. But there were, of course, very many who, living at an even greater distance from Andover, hesitated to come to Phillips Academy because of the poor transportation facilities and the time consumed in making the journey. For such as these the advent of the steam train helped to solve the problem. With the extension of railroad lines to the west and south came an expansion for the school which, to a man of the older generation, like 'Squire Farrar, was almost unbelievable.

Principal Johnson, although a young man, was never really well. A maimed club-foot made him so lame that he could barely crawl from his home to the Brick Academy; furthermore he had in him the seeds of tuberculosis, which, after he had undertaken his onerous new burdens, gradually but inevitably wore him out. His mind, as frequently happens in such cases, was extraordinarily keen and vigorous, but his will could not drive his wasted body to its work. Yet even with his infirmities he was a wonderfully impressive figure. Dr. Gulliver's description of him will bear repetition: —

I first saw Johnson while, slowly and limpingly, he was making his way from the door of the old Brick Academy down to his chaise. His pallid face, surmounted by a dome-like brow, with his large spectacles and a peculiar spiritual expression, gave me the impression, to a degree I never got from any other man, that what I saw was not the man, but that his real self was out of sight, behind those glasses, and that white, placid face, and that great coat and muffler which he wore. He had a club-foot also, which struck

the sidewalk with a thud at every step, and alternately raised and depressed his form as he walked. The *tout ensemble* made a great impression on my boyish imagination. His infirmities added to his dignity, and the whole effect of his appearance was to inspire the idea that some supernatural being had been born lame, like Vulcan, and unjustly cast down from Olympus.

As he grew more feeble, he was compelled to relinquish much of his classroom duty. His students, however, felt that they could not give him up. Some of them would come each day to lift him from his house to his carriage, and others supported him to his seat in the recitation hall. Early in 1837 the strain became too great, and he was forced to keep to his bed. For a few months William Augustus Peabody[1] (1816–50), then a theological student, took charge of the Academy, evidently with much success. Johnson unfortunately did not rally from the attack, but became gradually weaker, and on April 17, 1837, he sent in his resignation to the Trustees. One of the last acts which he performed was to send fifty dollars to the Foreign Missionary Society without a signature. He died May 9, 1837, and was buried in the Chapel Cemetery, where a monument, erected at the expense of his students, bears a commemorative inscription composed by Professor James L. Kingsley, of Yale College. He left behind him much writing in prose and verse, all of which, at his request, was burned by his wife.

[1] Mr. Peabody, who graduated from Amherst in 1835, returned to that college in 1838 as a tutor. He was ordained March 2, 1843, was pastor at East Randolph from 1843 to 1849, and had barely taken a place as Professor of Latin and Modern Languages at Amherst when he died, February 27, 1850.

During her husband's prolonged illness Mrs. Johnson was his faithful nurse. After his death she continued to occupy the Samaritan House, being given her rent as compensation for her services in acting as matron and caring for invalid students. She also took boys as boarders, and, through this and other ways of earning money, managed to bring up her five children. Of her three sons, one died in boyhood; another, Osgood, became principal of the Cambridge High School; and the third, Alfred, was killed while gallantly leading a charge at Missionary Ridge in 1863. Mrs. Johnson, according to her contemporaries, was "an extraordinary woman, gifted with splendid health, with rare practical wisdom and efficiency."

The Trustees felt at the time that Johnson's loss was almost irreparable. The letters of all those, teachers and pupils, who have written of him strike but one note — that of eulogy. Dr. Barrows, speaking in 1875, when Johnson had been dead nearly fifty years, said: —

> I have never met the man, I have never read of the man, who taught Pagan literature with so much of the Christian head and the Christian heart. I venerate his memory. As his strength went and his days in the classroom were shorter, and his voice feebler, there was a tone, there was a power to that reading of the Scriptures, those remarks, those prayers, that private conference. The pupils who were under his charge will never forget the man in that respect.

He is, in fact, the only one of the Principals of Phillips Academy of whom no one has said a word of condemnation or criticism. No doubt if he had lived

longer, the general opinion of him might have been modified, for he would have been compelled to face problems the solution of which could not have satisfied everybody. His administration was so short that he had no opportunity to effect changes of any importance in the school, but he left behind him a scholarly tradition which will not be altogether forgotten.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF "UNCLE SAM" TAYLOR

A man severe he was, and stern to view.

WHOEVER undertakes to discuss the life and character of Samuel Harvey Taylor in critical fashion, with an eye to his faults as well as to his virtues, still, over forty years after his dramatic death in the Academy hall, incurs the risk of being assailed on all sides. Macaulay once said in a letter: "A stranger who writes a description of a person whom hundreds still living knew intimately is almost certain to make mistakes; and even if he makes no absolute mistake, his portrait is not likely to be thought a striking resemblance by those who knew the original." This danger is all the greater in a case where there are many varying opinions, where the hero excited strong admiration and aroused lasting animosities. With the Phillips boys of Dr. Taylor's day there was no middle ground: either they revered and obeyed him as a personality almost superhuman, or they disliked and obeyed him as an unmitigated despot. Every student had some decided attitude towards him, and he was an unfailing topic of conversation in every home on Andover Hill. That this interest and this diversity of feeling have not disappeared is soon discovered by those who have talked with Dr. Taylor's pupils. One fact is indisputable. Dr. Taylor was a *strong* man, a natural leader. "All vague, uncertain, visionary, and vacillating conditions were far removed from his

mind," wrote one of his students, the poet, John Albee. A feeble or indecisive master could never have been so much execrated and so much admired.

For nearly thirty-four years, from 1837 until 1871, Dr. Taylor ruled in Phillips Academy. His mere word was law; his position was that of a sovereign whose power is unimpeachable. Parents in those days spoke of sending their sons, not to Andover, but to Dr. Taylor. The Trustees deferred to his will. "If I have ever seen anywhere any semblance of despotism and absolute monarchy," once said Dr. Alexander McKenzie, "it was Phillips Academy under Dr. Taylor." He left his stamp so enduringly upon his pupils that at Commencement time, when alumni begin their reminiscences, his spirit still seems to walk abroad upon the earth. Such a man cannot be treated lightly, or dismissed with a few casual paragraphs of approbation or censure. For good or for evil he moulded Phillips Academy according to his will. Because of this fact, his aims, his methods, and his achievements need careful consideration, and judgment should not be passed without evidence which is both weighty and accurate.

He was not always the stern figure of alumni tradition. "I remember well," said Dr. Gulliver, "when Samuel H. Taylor first appeared in our recitation room, blushing like a girl, and conducting his class in an apologetic, deferential manner, which stands now in an almost ludicrous contrast with his well-known decision and promptness." The boys had then to be very careful not to frighten him by an abrupt question. At this date, however, the future autocrat may

SAMUEL HARVEY TAYLOR

well have been somewhat timid, for he was young, inexperienced, and in a subordinate position. He was born on October 3, 1807, in Londonderry, New Hampshire, of Scotch-Irish parentage, his father being Captain James Taylor. The boy was named Samuel Harvey, after the famous hero of the siege of Londonderry, Ireland, described so vividly in the pages of Macaulay's *History*. Like many another country lad he had no small share in the management of his father's farm; but a sudden fall from a wagon, which diminished his powers of physical endurance and compelled him to abandon heavy outdoor work, decided his destiny, and led him to turn his attention to books. He studied with comprehension and persistence at Pinkerton Academy, and prepared himself for Dartmouth, where he graduated in 1832 with high honors, despite the handicap of being obliged to spend part of each winter teaching in district schools. With his eye fixed on the ministry, he went direct from Dartmouth to Andover Theological Seminary. It was at this period that Osgood Johnson, who had heard Taylor highly recommended by some Dartmouth professors, urged the latter to become an assistant in Phillips Academy, and finally induced him to remain with him a year. At the end of that time Taylor declined to continue in that position, although his classes held a mass-meeting and passed a unanimous vote requesting him not to leave. He then returned to Dartmouth as a tutor, but did not give up his connection with the Seminary, from which he graduated in the class of 1837. Johnson, before his death, had suggested Taylor to the Trustees as his successor;

and on July 25, 1837, the latter accepted the proposals made to him. He regarded the offer of $1000 and a house as altogether too tempting, especially as he was about to be married. On December 8, 1837, his wedding took place, and he brought his bride, Caroline Persis Parker, to Andover, where they commenced housekeeping in the south half of the Double Brick House. In 1838, when his probationary year was over, Taylor was voted a permanent appointment as Principal.

More than any other Principal before his day, Taylor was burdened with a multiplicity of responsibilities. In one of the earliest of the annual reports which he submitted to the Trustees he said, without any complaint: —

> My time has been almost exclusively employed in the discharge of my duties in the Academy. I have spent between four and five hours of each day in the schoolroom. I have conducted the morning devotions, at which one-half hour is spent, and most of those in the evening. In addition to giving instruction to my regular classes, I have attended from time to time the recitations of the other classes, and have frequently heard these classes at my recitation room. This course has been taken that I might become better acquainted with the progress which each student was making in his studies. The examination of the different classes from time to time has given me an opportunity to point out to individuals in private any faults that might need correcting, as well as to apply the spur when it seemed to be necessary. Such a course requires much time, but I think it is attended with the happiest results.

Unaided by any clerks he carried on the necessary

correspondence with parents and with prospective candidates for admission. Matters of discipline were constantly coming up for decision, and it was his business to warn and punish each offender. But his main work was that of a teacher, indeed the chief teacher in the school. During the year 1842–43, for instance, he gave instruction in Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Homer's *Iliad*, ancient geography, and ancient history.

As the prestige of Phillips Academy increased under his able direction, the attendance grew correspondingly. The absorption of the Teachers' Seminary in 1842 more than doubled the student body. The three hundred mark was passed in 1845, and the enrollment continued to grow steadily larger until 1855, when it reached a maximum of three hundred and ninety-six, a total not surpassed until 1892. For the instruction of a school of this size the number of teachers engaged was never adequate. In 1855, for example, five men were in charge of the three hundred and ninety-six scholars, an average of seventy-nine boys to each master. Even in 1870, after Dr. Taylor had been making a strenuous campaign for reform, there were only seven instructors in a school of two hundred and fifty-six students. The pressure on the Principal was made more onerous by the general incompetence of his assistants. The Trustees, hampered at every turn by the lack of a proper endowment, were unable to pay reasonable salaries, with the inevitable result that they often found it very difficult to secure satisfactory teachers for the subordinate positions.

It is a tribute to Dr. Taylor's genius that Phillips

Academy, in spite of the embarrassing situations arising from the overcrowding of its boys, continued to gain in numbers and steadily broadened its constituency. The tendency is best illustrated by statistics drawn from three typical years. In 1837 there were 120 students, of whom 56, or about 47 per cent, were from States outside of Massachusetts, and 18, or 15 per cent, were from outside New England. In 1855 there were 396 enrolled, of whom 169, or about 43 per cent, were from other States than Massachusetts, and 75, or nearly 19 per cent, were from other districts than New England. By 1871 the proportion had changed: of the 228 boys registered, 155, or about 68 per cent, were from beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts, and 123, or over 53 per cent, were from outside the New England States. Phillips Academy, in other words, had grown under Samuel H. Taylor to be a great American school, reaching into the Far West and South, and even to foreign countries, for its scholars. One cause of this was, as we have already seen, the improvement in transportation and communication. People learned of its system of organization, of the opportunities which it offered for poor boys to work for an education, and of its high moral tone. But they heard also of Dr. Taylor's reputation as a teacher of the classics, and of his success in keeping even the most vicious boys under control. The expansion of Phillips Academy could never have taken place if he had not been able to inspire public confidence in himself and his methods.

The new Principal was neither an innovator nor a reformer. Early in his career, it is true, he did effect

some modifications in the course of study. For three years he labored until, in 1841, he had divided the school into three separate classes: Senior, Middle, and Junior. He then published for the first time in the catalogue a programme for a three years' course, of which it is sufficient here to say that it still contained almost nothing but Latin, Greek, and mathematics. When once this curriculum had been prepared, Dr. Taylor remained indifferent to progressive tendencies in education, until his indifference left him perilously near stagnation. His scheme, at a time when important changes were everywhere being made in college and school curricula, was practically unaltered until the great revision undertaken by Dr. Bancroft.

Somewhat obstinately, Dr. Taylor chose to ignore the revised demands of the colleges. He preferred to pursue his own independent path, regardless of the entrance examinations of higher institutions. As a result Phillips Academy went comfortably on its way, gradually, but quite unconsciously, getting more and more out of touch with the spirit of the age. The Principal was, moreover, a man of decided, and often ungrounded, prejudices. One of these, which grew upon him especially in his later years, was an undisguised dislike for Harvard College, which led him to use his influence in preventing Andover graduates from going to Cambridge and which kept him from modifying his curriculum in order to meet the Harvard requirements. His attitude was occasioned by several motives, one of the chief of which was the fact that Harvard in that period was a Unitarian college. One alumnus writes: —

There was a deeply rutted road to Yale, and it was the only road in sight. There was no record of any one ever graduating from Andover and going to Yale with "Uncle Sam's" recommendation who failed to get in. In 1867 Andover did not prepare for Harvard; in Latin and Greek she offered only about half the amount required for that college.

Thus it was that the institution founded and fostered by Harvard men came at last to be known as a Yale "feeder."

The testimony of the men who sat under "Uncle Sam" proves that, within certain definite limitations, he was a teacher of real genius. He devoted himself almost entirely to the Senior class, his work being mainly in Latin and Greek. It was his custom to hold two recitations a day: one immediately after morning prayers, the other at 3.15 in the afternoon, evening prayers being held at 4.30. It was a peculiarity of his to spend one week on nothing but Greek, and the next on nothing but Latin. At the end of the term each scholar was asked to grade his division, putting himself at the bottom of the list, and the decision of the majority was usually accepted as a fair rating, unless, as sometimes happened, a conspiracy was formed to vote a dunce into the highest place. All examinations were oral, and the final test of the year was held in the presence of a committee of the Trustees.

Dr. Taylor's uniform method in the classroom was to select his victims by means of cards, arranged in haphazard order. After the slips had been slowly shuffled and the fatal name drawn, his gruff, stentorian voice, in a tone curiously prolonged, would ring out,

"Allen! Grammar!" and the pupil would step out before the class to recite, like a lecturer in a hall. "Uncle Sam" always began with a review of the previous day's work, upon which he demanded absolute and fluent accuracy; indeed, it was not unusual for him to ask a boy to recite from memory an entire "grammar lesson," keeping him on his feet sometimes for half an hour and bewildering him with a running fire of questions. It was not his policy to waste praise or commendation, but his delight when a scholar did exceptionally well was often manifested in a smile of approval. When the review was completed, advance lessons were taken up; in these the Principal was far more lenient, and he was ready to give full explanations of difficult constructions.

His emphasis was particularly upon exactitude and definiteness. His advice to young teachers was, "Always make special preparation for each day's lessons. I have taught Virgil for thirty years, but I have looked over every lesson invariably before going to class." He wished to do all thoroughly, and, with this in mind, refused to accept slovenly thinking or careless translation. The first task which he assigned in the *Iliad* was only seven lines long, but his minute elucidations were such that new students were given an insight into proper methods of work. President Charles F. Thwing writes of Dr. Taylor's system: —

> A translation had to be *right*. I still recall a certain phrase in the *Anabasis* which had to be rendered "how the battle eventuated." He knew the value of words, and he tried to teach us, ignorant, careless youths, such a truth, linguistic and æsthetic.

Passages such as this were handed down year after year by tradition, and greeted as veritable friends by each succeeding class. A story told by another graduate offers an interesting illustration of his procedure:

One day, on a review in the *Æneid*, the line "Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit" was translated with a slight mistake, *et* being translated *and* instead of *also*. "Uncle Sam" roused up at once. "Sufficient, the next." The next did no better. Down went man after man on the instant. Meanwhile Dr. Taylor grew more and more wrathful. His face became red and swollen; his eyes flashed with pent-up indignation. More than half the class had fallen, and my turn was near. I knew what the trouble was, but I became excited and lost my head a little. The best scholars had gone down, and it seemed as if Dr. Taylor was about to rise from his chair. My time came, and I began unconsciously with that fatal *and*. "Sufficient," he shouted. It was the first time that I had ever been floored in that way, and I resented it. "*Et* means *also*," I exclaimed indignantly, for he had not allowed me to finish the sentence. "Sit down," he roared like a bull of Bashan. But my words had drawn the lightning, and in a moment the sunshine came. He paused until the room was still as the grave, then deliberately translated the line, emphasizing the *also*, and told the next man to proceed. As the diplomatists say, "the incident closed."

Instances of an even harsher treatment of those who failed to meet his precise demands are familiar to every alumnus of that day. A youngster named George Blodget, writing October 5, 1850, after he had been in Phillips Academy a week, said: —

If a fellow is late a minute, or absent, he is marked and reported. If he loses his place and cannot tell where to begin to read, or what word they are talking about, he is marked as an entire failure.

Dr. Taylor once said, "My saddest task is to deal with men who attend to generalizations and neglect details." In some respects, probably, he went to the other extreme. Many have pointed out that he overemphasized enclitics and paradigms, missing the literary quality in the analysis of technical trivialities. It is true that he did have a gift of illuminating obscure lines with quotations from the English poets, especially Milton; but he was more at home with cases and tense forms. His efforts to stimulate poetic appreciation were only intermittent. Nor did he encourage general reading outside the classroom. The school library in his day was small, inadequate, and hard to utilize.

An inevitable consequence of Dr. Taylor's system was that timid or easily frightened pupils were often unable to do themselves justice. One such student thus describes his sensations: —

> I was not at all adapted to his teaching. I was probably the most bashful boy that ever succeeded in living. Dr. Taylor's teaching was entirely oral — always on the stage — and whenever he would roar my name, and I would jump up before him and the class on the high platform, I was always so scared that I hardly knew what I was saying, and my book trembled so that I had to put my forefinger on the place in order to see the text at all. As soon as I got to Harvard with its written examinations, and where the instructors in the Freshman year were mostly young men who did not sit on a towering platform and who did not roar at me, I did infinitely better than I could do at Andover.

The fact seems to be that sturdy, independent natures flourished under the Principal's none too tender

usage; clever boys, too, could often anticipate his pet questions, by consulting some annotated edition of the year before; but sensitive, shrinking students went before him with trembling and never felt at ease. Now and then a brilliant scholar like Franklin Carter, afterwards President of Williams College, or a mature and conscientious student like William A. Mowry, later a well-known educator, won his respect and was treated nearly on terms of equality; but men such as these were the exception. The situation has been well put by John Albee: —

> Under Dr. Taylor's powerful discipline, it is true the weak sank down at once, the mediocre struggled bravely awhile; the few maintained the unequal fight, until, like the Indian's slaughtered foe, his strength passed into theirs.

The system was also defective in that it placed too much stress on mere memory work. Many doubtless recall George Borrow's description in *Lavengro* of his early training in Lilly's *Latin Grammar*:—

> At the end of three years I had the whole by heart; you had only to repeat the first two or three words of any sentence in any part of the book, and forthwith I would open cry, commencing without blundering and hesitation, and continue until you were glad to have me leave off, with many expressions of admiration at my proficiency in the Latin language.

Many of Dr. Taylor's boys undoubtedly had much this same kind of ability, thanks to the untiring drill of their master. Furthermore it is said that he allowed too little freedom to the individual minds of those who were under him. They moved always in shackles, and their wills were bent to his. Dr. Taylor

was the product of an age which, to quote Herbert Spencer, "unavoidably cherished the notion that a child's mind could be made to order; that its powers were to be imparted by the schoolmaster; that it was a receptacle into which knowledge was to be put, and there built up after the teacher's ideal." The unusual or eccentric boy had no rank in the Principal's scheme of things.

After all, however, even present-day theories of pedagogy are not impeccable, and Dr. Taylor, with all his roughness and intolerance, did accomplish one desirable end — he made an impression upon his boys. He convinced them of the value of thorough scholarship, and demonstrated the dignity of honest labor. At times, in divisions where earnest and willing students predominated, he created extraordinary enthusiasm. Professor Edwards A. Park once said: —

> The scene in his recitation room reminded one of a torrent rushing onward to the sea; one wave not waiting for another, but every wave hastening forward as if instinct with life.

President Thwing points out that Dr. Taylor developed self-reliance: —

> The general mood or atmosphere of the school in pursuing this course was work. There were no easy steps, no easy lessons, no first aid to the injured. In fact there was no aid of any kind, and no one was supposed to be injured, so strong was he to be and to bear. The boy who used a translation was tabooed by fellow students, as well as by teachers. One learned his lessons day by day, almost hour by hour, and learned them thoroughly.

The students were taught to give nothing but their best, and some of them never forgot the instruction.

Although Dr. Taylor knew his classics well, he was not widely versed in other fields, chiefly, however, because he had no leisure in which to gratify his tastes. In his devotion to Latin and Greek, and his belief in them as the best basis for an education, he yielded to none of his contemporaries. Said Professor Park: —

> He was conscientious in the belief that classical learning is important for the welfare of our republic. . . . He therefore believed that he was discharging the duties of a good citizen and patriot, when he was holding up a high standard of classical learning.

More than one textbook appeared in exemplification of his theories. In 1843 he published a *Guide for Writing Latin*, translated from the German of John Phillip Krebs. A year later, in collaboration with Professor Bela B. Edwards, of the Seminary, he produced a *Grammar of the Greek Language*, based on the famous manual of Dr. Raphael Kühner. Taylor's *Elementary Greek Grammar*, compiled from another of Kühner's handbooks, appeared in 1846, and ran into over twenty editions. The Honorable W. W. Crapo remembers that, in 1845, proof-sheets of this volume were used in class as fast as they came from the press. *Methods of Classical Study*, including a series of characteristic questions on Latin and Greek texts, was published in 1861; and in 1870 appeared his last book, *Classical Study; Its Value Illustrated by Extracts from the Writings of Eminent Scholars*, with an introduction in defense of the study of the ancient languages. In these volumes he expressed and amplified the prin-

ciples which he emphasized in his classroom. Models of minute and scrupulous accuracy, they show intensity of analysis but little breadth of vision, and thus confirm the judgment formed of their author by a keen critic of his system: —

> Dr. Taylor had a thorough, heartfelt, unaffected belief in the efficacy of classical literature as the great educating force, with a partial failure to understand the developing power of other studies.

Aside from these books, Dr. Taylor delivered several addresses on educational subjects. Of these the most important was a lecture in 1865 before the American Institute of Instruction, on *The Method of Teaching Latin to Beginners*. This treatise was later published in pamphlet form.

Dr. Taylor, like Principal Adams, had a vital interest in the morals of Phillips Academy, and made faithful attempts to convert the boys. His reports devote much space to these matters. In 1847, for instance, he writes: —

> During the winter term there was much more than the usual earnestness on the subject of religion; I have rarely witnessed a more happy state of feeling among the professors of religion, and it is with devout gratitude that we hope that eight or ten were savingly converted.

In 1852 he calls the attention of the Trustees to one of those outbursts of religious enthusiasm so common in that period: —

> In the early part of the autumn term, while Dr. Lyman Beecher was preaching in the Chapel, the school was visited by a very powerful revival, which resulted in the hopeful conversion of more than fifty of the members of the

school. The work was of greater power than any I have been familiar with in any literary institution.

These "revivals," especially those conducted by Dr. Beecher, were received with the utmost seriousness. Even as late as 1870 the Principal writes: —

> During the latter part of winter, and the early part of the summer term, there was much more than the usual religious interest in the school, and twelve or fifteen are thought to have been converted.

An alumnus of the class of 1856 says in response to a question: —

> In those days the Academy was noted for its religious interests and powerful revivals. The students labored for such results, and experienced them. On Sunday evenings each class held its separate prayer-meeting, and besides these there was a general prayer-meeting each week for all the students.

Religious services were held very often. In addition to the regular daily prayers in the morning and afternoon, there was compulsory Biblical instruction every Sunday morning before church. The boys were divided into groups and assigned to the various recitation rooms, where students from the Seminary acted as teachers. The "cads" were also obliged to attend church services in the Seminary Chapel, where they were assigned the rear seats. "Uncle Sam" sat behind them on a platform sufficiently high for him to get a clear view of the entire body. Many of the students complained of the wearisome nature of the exercises, which, conducted largely by the Seminary professors and intended primarily for the "theologues," were often replete with doctrine and dogma hardly

comprehensible to boys of sixteen and eighteen. One compensation, however, was Professor Park's *Judas* and *Peter* sermons, which he delivered frequently, to the intense delight of the Hill.

Some enthusiastic boys taught in the Sunday Schools of the mill villages in the vicinity. Bishop Leonard, of Ohio, remembers escorting Elizabeth Stuart Phelps to such a meeting every Sunday afternoon and assisting in the instruction. All such activities among members of the Academy were sure of being sanctioned by Dr. Taylor. Despite some evidence to the contrary, it seems clear that the moral atmosphere of the school during these years was beneficial and wholesome. Students were ashamed to lead anything but clean lives. The presence of Andover Theological Seminary, then at the height of its influence, did, perhaps, morbidly affect a few pious boys; some of these, in their zeal to make converts, did at times overshoot the mark; but, everything considered, it must be admitted that Phillips Academy was justly praised for the effect which it produced upon young men who had been formerly unruly or irreligious.

"Uncle Sam," moreover, was noted far and wide for his methods of discipline. As no Faculty meetings for the discussion of school problems were ever held, he settled every difficulty which arose in his own autocratic manner, usually without consulting any of his colleagues. It was his custom after morning prayers were over to deliver short philippics against cards, smoking, novels, dancing, and even the desultory reading of good literature, or any other relaxation which, he thought, tended to enervate minds occupied

with the severities of Latin and Greek. "Notice these points, young men; *weigh* them well," he would say in his deep, sonorous voice, as he expatiated on some moral precept. He would then draw from his vest-pocket a slip of paper, saying, as he read from it, the ominous words, "The following individuals are requested to remain." The innocent majority then filed out to recitations, leaving behind the unhappy "individuals" to await disconsolately their private interview with "Uncle Sam."

That conference was not likely to be a pleasant occasion. It has been maintained by some of those who knew him best that Dr. Taylor was really a shy and shrinking person, who, in order to conceal his timidity, resorted to bullying. It is said that he never, either in his own office or before an audience, looked anybody directly in the face; his eyes shifted continually behind his gold-bowed spectacles, and he appeared to be talking either to the floor or to the wall. His voice, under some circumstances, could be gruff and harsh, and his stalwart figure added impressiveness to his rebuke. Believing in the doctrine of "total depravity" as applied to boys, he usually tried to overawe the culprit and, by means of a variation of what police now call the "third degree," he attempted to induce him to confess. Corporal punishment, although sometimes employed, was used but rarely, the mere threat of suspension or expulsion being dire enough to be effectual. In his aim of inspiring terror he was seldom unsuccessful, and students were always in fear of his reprimand. In some conspicuous cases, unfortunately, his judgment was at fault.

Bashful and unoffending youngsters were often frightened nearly out of their senses by being called up unexpectedly and warned that, if their conduct did not improve, they must expect a severe penalty. "Sensitive boys," said Professor Churchill, one of his friends, "were sometimes unnecessarily wounded by his intense expressions concerning comparatively small transgressions." Another critic writes: —

> Dr. Taylor was austere and forbidding, and the principle upon which he worked was to esteem every boy guilty, until he could prove himself innocent. This was made evident from the fact that he would directly accuse innocent lads of practicing even criminal acts of which they were entirely guiltless. It was certainly browbeating, and terrifying to a boy just entering his 'teens to be arbitrarily and summarily disposed of by a man of such tremendous powers as Dr. Taylor.

It was part of the Principal's nature that he should hate levity, even of the most harmless kind. He once summoned to his room a fourteen-year-old boy, a studious and quiet lad, and growled at him, "Robinson, you're on the direct road to hell." The boy, naturally white with fear, begged to know his offense, and "Uncle Sam" finally said, "You're reading too many novels." The young fellow had not seen a novel since he had come to Andover Hill, and protested vigorously against the false accusation; but Dr. Taylor, unwilling to retract, sent him away with a sharp admonition. This case reveals one of the Principal's weaknesses — his lack of a sense of proportion. He rarely took the trouble to distinguish between grave and trivial errors in conduct. It was his

simple doctrine that boys should be taught to obey, no matter what the order might be.

Dr. Taylor was easily goaded to rage by any signs of opposition, and was relentless towards those who showed themselves proud and high-spirited. On the other hand, if a culprit manifested signs of penitence, the Principal was quick enough to forgive. Like Dr. Pearson, he was obstinate, and would never admit himself to be in the wrong, even when the facts were clearly against him. An interesting example of this is told by Mr. Albert Warren, of the class of 1863: —

We had in our class a member by the name of F. K. Smyth. Some of the family had been at the institution before, and they pronounced their name with a long *y*. After some weeks in our Senior year, "Uncle Sam," probably thoughtlessly, called upon Smyth to recite, and called his name *Smith*. We had no Smith in the class; so there could be no doubt whom "Uncle Sam" meant. Smyth did not rise, and "Uncle Sam," instead of admitting the error and calling him by his proper name, persisted in calling him Smith — but Smyth paid no attention to the call. Finally "Uncle Sam" said, — "Smith will leave the room!" — which Smyth inconsistently did. Afterwards he and "Uncle Sam" had it out: Smyth insisted that "Uncle Sam" knew his name, and refused to answer to any name but his own. Things looked bad for a while, and we did not know but that Smyth would be obliged to leave the Academy for disobedience.

The boys felt, and apparently not without reason, that he used dubious methods in order to ascertain what was going on among their number. The stories told of his ubiquity are little short of marvelous. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, in speaking on this subject, once said: —

There was nothing he did not know. There was no wall so silent, there was no bedroom so secret, there was no midnight so dark, there were no recesses of the mind so obscure, that the thought of any boy was not known to him; and oftentimes when we came up in the innocence of an artless life, supposing that we had walked alone, there came that momentous sentence after morning prayers, when every boy awaited the words that should come next, — "The following individuals are requested to remain."

It is said that he often lay hidden behind trees or in dark corners, hoping to detect some misdemeanor. Professor John L. Taylor, Treasurer of the Academy, who knew Dr. Taylor intimately, stated without reserve that the latter employed student spies, who were paid for making reports to him. "Dr. Taylor prowled around nights to catch mischief-makers," says the Honorable Charles Sumner Bird. In partial justification of such methods it may be urged that the school was so large and the corps of teachers so small that the students could not be properly supervised, and that, consequently, no more legitimate way could be found of hunting down serious vices. It is a fact, also, that, after Dr. Taylor's reputation was established, many unruly and refractory boys were sent to him, as if his measures of discipline were a last resort. The result of thus allowing the school to take on some of the features of a reformatory was not always satisfactory; yet, everything considered, "Uncle Sam" was remarkably successful in taming even the most unmanageable of students. To do this he had to outwit the boys, his natural antagonists; and to outwit them he resorted, not only to cross-examination, but also to espionage.

It would be unfair to leave the impression that Dr. Taylor was universally disliked. He won the strong affection of many of his students. One of these writes of him: —

> I never saw in any mind such a sympathy with the right intentions of others, whether these intentions were struggling against obtuseness, early disadvantages, or the pressure of poverty.

Another characterizes the Principal as "the most generous and helpful of men." Dr. William A. Mowry, in his entertaining volume *The Reminiscences of a New England Educator*, speaks emphatically of the wholesome moral influence which Dr. Taylor exerted on those who came to know him intimately. Unfortunately only a few — and these generally mature, scholarly, and religious young men — met with this kind of consideration from Dr. Taylor; with students of this exceptional type, who could meet him as man to man, he was often a favorite. It is also true that to alumni on their return to their old school he was usually effusively gracious, as if his sternness were merely a pose intended to awe and subdue the undergraduates. It must be added, too, that some of the more violent expressions of dislike of "Uncle Sam" and his methods emanate from unruly boys who richly deserved their punishment. But it is difficult to explain away the emotions of many refined and highly intelligent men who have never been able to forget that he accused them unjustly, wounded their feelings, and checked their natural sympathies. It is also impossible to deny the fact that many of his ablest students, men who have won their way to high positions,

look back with a kind of horror to certain episodes connected with "Uncle Sam" and Phillips Academy. A distinguished college President, in his final estimate of Dr. Taylor, says: —

> The further I move away from the years of "Uncle Sam," the more heartily do I appreciate the worth of his teaching, and also with an equal heartiness do I have an increasing detestation of the methods he used as Principal in the formation of young manhood among us boys. It may be well for some boys to be kept in terror, but I am sure that, as a method of permanent academic government, it is not good for either growing souls or growing bodies.

During his entire administration Dr. Taylor occupied half of the Double Brick House on Main Street. His wife, a quiet lady, was beloved, but took a share only rarely in the social life of the town. His three sons[1] did not inherit the ability of their father. The Principal himself, although he did not have the wide variety of interests possessed by either Dr. Pearson or Dr. Bancroft, found time for some other pursuits. It is strange that he took very little part in town affairs, even during the critical period of the war. He was an active member of the Oriental Society, President of the Board of Trustees of Pinkerton Academy,

[1] The eldest son, James, engaged in business in Vermont, where he died in 1895; the second, George Harvey (1840–81), went to Harvard and Dartmouth, studied law, and served as lieutenant in the Northern army. In 1867 he left his law practice in Boston in order to become an instructor in Phillips Academy, where he remained until 1875. In 1877 he accepted a position as Head of Kinderhook Academy in New York State, and in 1880 he moved to Amsterdam Academy, where he was Principal at the time of his death, June 19, 1881. The third son, Arthur Fairbanks, the most brilliant of the children, secured a doctorate at Goettingen, became a teacher, and died June 28, 1883, at the age of thirty.

and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Adams Female Seminary in Derry, New Hampshire. In 1851 he edited a *History of Londonderry* written by his father-in-law, the Reverend Edward L. Parker, prefacing it with an excellent memoir of the author. In 1854, through the influence of his friend, President Wayland, he was honored by Brown University with the degree of Doctor of Laws. On March 8, 1856, he started on a foreign tour, with leave of absence from the Trustees; in the course of this trip he visited France, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Italy, Germany, and England, returning to America in time for the opening of the Academy in the autumn. He was frequently invited to lecture on his experiences in the Holy Land.

In personal appearance Dr. Taylor was short and stocky, and, in his later years, decidedly corpulent. On his return from Europe all the students were at the station to meet him; just as the train came to a full stop, a shrill voice cried out, "Here he comes. I saw the end of the car go down." As luck would have it, "Uncle Sam" within a second or two stepped out of that very car, and was greeted unexpectedly with yells of delighted laughter. Being somewhat tormented with gout, he usually walked with a slight limp, and, when the attacks came on, he was likely to be even more irritable than he was normally. He wore gold-bowed spectacles, behind which his steel-blue eyes constantly shifted. His voice was low and resonant, but, when he grew excited, it rose in pitch and possessed great carrying power. His portrait in Brechin Hall, considered to be an excellent likeness,

represents him as he must have seemed in his prime: firm, stern, self-confident, and domineering.

Many are the anecdotes told of Dr. Taylor's career as lawgiver and judge in Phillips Academy. The Honorable Nathaniel Niles once, at an alumni gathering, related the following story: —

One Saturday evening, near the close of the term, I made a brief strike against my lessons and in favor of more society and a drive to Ballardvale with one of Andover's fairest daughters. That strike made me trouble. Monday morning, after prayers, Dr. Taylor named an arbitration committee to settle our differences upstairs. He was the committee. It took us one minute to agree upon his settlement, and, like Moses on the Mount, I descended amid thunders and lightnings and took the commandments with me. My excuse to him was that I took it for granted I could go if I had learned my lessons. His reply was, "Sir, you take too many things for granted!"

One incident is illustrative of the Principal's shrewd way of keeping in touch with student pranks: —

One night there was to be a party at the Fem. Sem. Of course those boys who, through their sisters, cousins, or aunts, were to be guests were the envy of every boy in school. Two boys "not expected" at the entertainment conceived the idea that perhaps it would be an evidence of gratitude to heave a cat through one of the windows, which were open on account of the temperature. Carrying it in their arms, they were making their way to Abbot, when they met Dr. Taylor. The evening was intensely dark, and, there being no street lights, Dr. Taylor did not recognize the boys. He started after them very rapidly; both parties broke into a run, but the Doctor was handicapped too heavily; as he accelerated his gait, theirs broke into a sprint, and they outdistanced him. When the boys

reached Abbot, they found the grounds so thoroughly patrolled that they had to give up their plan, and walked up the hill to a vacant lot next door to the house Dr. Taylor occupied. They concluded that they would watch his methods; so they seated themselves on the fence, and waited. In a few minutes Dr. Taylor's door opened, and the boys tumbled over backwards into the pasture lot, where, lying flat upon the ground, they entered upon their watch. As stated before, the night was intensely dark. Dr. Taylor walked slowly out of his yard, turned down the street, and stopped under a tree, where he was completely invisible in the dense darkness. Here he stood over an hour to nab any boy that happened to pass, or perhaps to overhear a conversation. However, the boys that evening were giving his house a wide berth, and, after waiting an hour without accomplishing anything, he went back into his house.

The Honorable Noah H. Swayne, of Toledo, Ohio, gives almost the only reminiscence which shows any sense of humor in the Principal: —

You may remember that, after passing the hotel on the main street and walking out about half a mile, you come to a fork in the roads with a big rock at the junction. Beyond this on a stone wall one of the boys, who was out in study hours, sat waiting for a companion who was to join him in the violation of the rules of the school by a country excursion. He happened to look down the road and saw "Uncle Sam's" head over the top of a slight hill, approaching the resting-place. He immediately tumbled over backwards and hid under a barberry bush, believing that he had not been seen. "Uncle Sam" walked slowly up the road, seated himself comfortably on the stone wall, and began to eat barberries. The situation became so ludicrous that the boy burst out laughing, and "Uncle Sam" joined him in the laughter, and, giving him a very mild reprimand, sent him back with no other penalty for

the violation of the rule. I think he would have sat there almost all day if the boy had not laughed.

The years immediately following the Civil War saw sweeping changes in educational theories. In 1869 Charles W. Eliot, just elected President of Harvard, began to introduce the long series of educational reforms with which his name is associated. College entrance requirements, especially those of Harvard, were being subjected to a much-needed readjustment and codification. With the establishment of elaborate technical institutions like the Sheffield Scientific School and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology the cherished system of classical studies was put, to some extent, on the defensive. Darwin, Huxley, and Wallace, with their epoch-making discoveries, were the heralds of a new age, in which the very foundations of tradition were to be shaken. Dr. Taylor's curriculum of Latin, Greek, and a smattering of mathematics was already antiquated. That he himself was conscious of the wisdom of concession is indicated by his recommendation in 1870 that "the two lower classes in the Classical Department should have one recitation each day in such English branches as may be thought most necessary." But he was hardly the man to be actively in sympathy with the course which events were taking: he deliberately closed his eyes to the desirability of introducing modern languages, of devoting more time to the study of mathematics, history, and English, and of providing instruction in the elements of science. The hour had arrived, however, when no obstructionist, no matter how influential, could long stand in the path of pro-

gressive tendencies. The curriculum, which for forty years had remained practically unmodified, was sadly in need of a thorough revision, and Dr. Taylor, had he lived, would have been compelled reluctantly to yield. Destiny, however, determined that he and his system should disappear together.

One of Dr. Taylor's virtues had been his punctuality. He once said, "I have been late at my school but once in thirty years, and then I was on the threshold when the bell struck the hour." According to his usual custom he left his study on Sunday morning, January 29, 1871, at five minutes of nine, in order to be prompt in meeting his Bible class in the Academy building. The day was stormy and cold, and he had complained of a tightness across his chest; but he put duty before his own comfort. He walked a few steps into the entry, staggered towards the railing near the stairs, and then sank down heavily upon the floor. His scholars hastened to his aid, only to find that death had taken place almost instantaneously. For some years he had known that he was suffering from a rheumatic disease of the heart, but he had not allowed it to interfere with his academic obligations. The boys, bewildered and shocked, quietly dispersed, and an hour later the body was carried to his home.

The funeral services were held on Thursday, February 2, in the hall of the Academy building, which had been draped in black. The casket was escorted to its place in the Chapel by the Senior class, ten of the number acting as a guard of honor. A great throng was present at the funeral. Professor John L. Taylor read Scriptural passages, after which Pro-

fessor Edwards A. Park delivered the commemorative address, a masterpiece of eulogistic eloquence. A long procession was then formed to the cemetery, where President Smith, of Dartmouth, spoke briefly. The student body passed resolutions mourning the loss of "a faithful friend and instructor." A committee of the alumni drew up a memorial, expressing their appreciation of "the great and invaluable services which, as a teacher, scholar, editor, and author, he has, during a life of energetic activity, rendered to the cause of liberty, education, and culture in this country." Professor Churchill, on the Sunday following Dr. Taylor's death, preached an appreciative sermon in the Seminary Chapel. By a vote passed February 27, 1871, the Senior class agreed to prepare a memorial volume, containing Professor Park's eulogy, Professor Churchill's sermon, and other material giving reminiscences of the deceased Principal. A fine tombstone was soon erected to his memory in the cemetery, with an inscription composed by Professor Park. A bronze tablet in the Academy building marks the spot near which he fell.

Dr. Taylor was, as his epitaph points out, a "man of mark"; but it is only fair to suggest that he has often been wrongly praised. Those who have called him "the Arnold of America" have utterly mistaken the character of both teachers. The famous Head Master of Rugby, "cheerful, and helpful, and firm," developed self-government among his boys, sought their friendly coöperation, gained their love; Dr. Taylor ruled by fear, and held his pupils to the letter of the law. Dr. Arnold, through changes in the

curriculum and the installation of notable reforms, gave a stimulus to English education which is even to-day working as a leaven; Dr. Taylor not only lacked the progressive spirit, but, so far as the course of study is concerned, left Phillips Academy almost precisely where he found it. Dr. Taylor, so far as he can be compared to any one, was not unlike Dr. John Keate, the "flogging Head Master" of Eton from 1809 to 1834, who, concentrating within his diminutive frame the pluck of ten battalions, — according to Kinglake's well-known description in *Eothen*, — overcame the laxity which his feebler predecessors had tolerated and literally whipped the Eton boys into submission to his will. Both men were fine teachers; both had qualities which nearly every one instinctively admires; but neither had, like Dr. Arnold, a lifelong interest in the progress of educational reforms. Allowing for the inevitable differences in the rules and customs of the two institutions, the spirit of the Eton of 1825 must have been much like that of the Andover of 1850.

The truth is that Dr. Taylor belonged to an age which had already passed. The classroom practices which he employed so successfully could not be used now; his scheme of punishment would not be tolerated to-day. Unlike Pearson, Pemberton, and Adams, he was fortunate in the time of his death. Feebleness, decrepitude, or senility seemed with him to be impossible, and it was as if, rather than bend to the storm, he rendered up his life in a protest which he at heart knew to be unavailing.

Times have altered, then, since those stormy in-

terviews in "Number 9," and the world has grown out of sympathy with many of Dr. Taylor's aims as well as decidedly critical of his system. But it will never do to forget that in both his faults and his virtues he was representative of that Puritan New England where Phillips Academy was founded. His sternness, his relentless dislike of frivolity and hatred of evil, his scrupulous thoroughness and accuracy, his steadfast adherence to the letter of the moral code, his confidence in the efficacy of conversion, his absolute trust in his own infallibility, — these are qualities which belonged to Bradstreet, Winslow, Jonathan Edwards, even to Samuel Phillips, Jr., himself. In Samuel Harvey Taylor, even more perhaps than in Pearson or Adams, Puritanism existed almost unalloyed — as it will seldom in our day be met with again.

CHAPTER XIV

STUDENT LIFE UNDER "UNCLE SAM"

AGAIN I revisit the hills where we sported,
The streams where we swam, and the fields where we fought,
The school where, loud warned by the bell, we resorted,
To pore over precepts by pedagogues taught.

IN the occasional contests in Phillips Academy between established authority, personified by Dr. Taylor, and habitual offenders, it must not be presumed that the former was always easily victorious. Full-blooded, mischievous boys frequently became insubordinate, and the Principal was at times forced, in spite of himself, to resort to his last weapon — expulsion. One of the earliest of the internal disorders, sometimes dignified by the name of "rebellions," which occurred during his régime, broke out in 1846, when a small but aggressive group of men in the Senior class, headed by William Stark, a grandson of the hero of Bennington, undertook to direct affairs in the Academy. Aggrieved by the withholding from them of various honors which they thought they had deserved, Stark, who had hoped to be Valedictorian, and his satellites so annoyed the Principal by covert criticisms and complaints, culminating in an uproarious public meeting, that he finally expelled ten of them only a week before the day set for graduation. Dr. Taylor's drastic action resulted in "fierce excitement" among the students, but no open outbreak ensued, and, with the departure of the cul-

prits, it looked as if trouble had been averted. Stark, however, well supplied with money, had proceeded at once to Troy, New York, where, at his own expense, he attended to the printing of a catalogue of his own, an elaborate affair with a bright enameled cover, containing a list of students in which Stark and his companions were assigned the places to which they considered themselves entitled. In the list of instructors, also, Stark had included himself as "Teacher of Sacred Music." On the morning of the annual exhibition in August, 1846, Stark returned to Andover and succeeded in dexterously substituting his own catalogues for those provided by the authorities; thus, when the guests were comfortably seated in the hall of the Brick Academy, they found in their hands an unexpected treat. To add to the confusion Stark had bribed the band, engaged from Boston for the day, to forget its appointment, and there was no music to be had. During a few tense moments disorder reigned among the audience, and "Uncle Sam," uncertain as to what course to pursue, seemed for once completely unnerved. Eventually he consulted with a few Trustees who happened to be present, and then, mounting to the platform, managed to restore order so that the programme could be carried out.

At the opening of the following fall term the dissatisfaction was by no means allayed. A burlesque poem, *The Phillipiad*, eight pages long, was circulated among the choicer spirits. This work, which was in irregular verse, and annotated, after the style of *The Ancient Mariner*, with marginal prose comments in Latin, Greek, German, and French, said little about "Uncle

Sam," but assailed the Treasurer, Samuel Fletcher, Esq., and the Trustees. Incidentally it praised highly Lyman Coleman, who had recently been compelled to resign from the English Department, and Abner J. Phipps and William H. Wells, two of the assistants. The poem, which has no merit whatever as verse, began as follows: —

Know ye the place where the halls of religion
Are engines of plunder for those who bear rule?
Where the changing of money, the sale of the pigeon,
Now sullies the temple, now plunders the school!
Know ye the high hill of Hebrew and Greek,
Where in strange, learnèd accents, the green Yankees speak;
Where wondrous Professors and Doctors frequent,
And wondering youths are from far countries sent;
Where the classical gravel, and consecrate trees,
Are fanned by a tuneful, oracular breeze;
Where the towering piles of ethereal brick,
And the mud-colored commons are clustering thick.

Of Coleman the following lines were written: —

Aye, Coleman's name falls frequent on the ear,
With queries why he is no longer here;
And execration visits the design
That drove him forth, and brought the quick decline
Of that prosperity his labor reared,
The school to which he ever was endeared.

"Uncle Sam" was not long kept in ignorance of the existence of this satire, and in due season, after a little quiet investigation, the authors of *The Phillipiad* were requested to withdraw.

In the spring of 1848 a party of malcontents overturned and set on fire an outhouse connected with the Latin dormitories. Most of those concerned in the affair had already incurred suspicion, and the watch-

ful Principal soon expelled ten of their number. In his report for 1855 Dr. Taylor, in mentioning another disorder of a similar kind, added a significant comment: —

> Our vicinity to the city of Lawrence is one of the most fruitful sources of irregularity to which we are exposed. Scarcely an individual has been removed from the school for two or three years past who has not commenced his irregularities by his night visits to that place.

What is commonly known as the "Third Rebellion" occurred in 1867, near the close of Dr. Taylor's career. On a glorious Wednesday morning in May Rufus A. Bullock, now a well-known Boston lawyer, and Simon Obermeyer, his classmate, met another student, who shall be nameless, on their way from chapel. The third fellow, a happy-go-lucky scapegrace full of animal spirits, proposed that they should "cut" the scheduled recitation in geometry, and walk to Haggett's Pond for a boat ride and a swim. When they returned late in the afternoon, they found awaiting them a peremptory summons from "Uncle Sam." They discovered him suffering acute pain from one of his periodic attacks of gout, and consequently in no gentle temper. In addition, he had gradually been getting more and more exasperated over the frequent "cutting" which had been going on during the fine spring weather. Being in no mood to listen to any explanation, he informed the offenders that their relations with Phillips Academy must terminate at once. On the same day, unfortunately, "Archie" Bush, captain of the baseball nine, had stolen off with one of his friends to Boston in order to see a league contest.

Bush, who had served as an officer in the Northern army, was a man full-grown, and the school hero of his time. He was a fine fellow, of good habits, whom every one respected and liked; but these virtues had at that moment little weight with the irate Principal, who immediately added Bush and his companion to the list of those expelled.

On the following morning, when the news was spread through the school, the Senior class, indignant at the loss of five of their prominent men, resolved upon a demonstration. After an angry mass meeting upon what is now the Old Campus, twenty-four of the forty-two members, among them some of the ablest scholars in the class, hired thirteen separate carriages and drove to Lawrence, where they attended a circus, had supper at a hotel, and then returned to Andover past Dr. Taylor's house, giving cat-calls for the edification of the infuriated Principal. This exploit was, of course, a genuine rebellion, and "Uncle Sam," after a perfunctory examination, expelled all those implicated in it. Newspapers throughout the East appeared with garbled accounts of the incident, and it created such widespread comment that the Trustees, at a special meeting, thought it wise to pass a vote approving the Principal's action.

The consequences of this "Rebellion" were rather more far-reaching than any one connected with it could have anticipated. The expelled students, without Dr. Taylor's recommendation, found it impossible to enter Yale, and many of them decided to try Harvard. A few, including Bullock, engaged tutors from among the younger instructors at Cambridge; others

"bohned" during the summer for the entrance examinations; and in the end nearly all of them managed to satisfy the Harvard requirements. The attitude shown by the Harvard authorities was decidedly irritating to Dr. Taylor, who, in his report for 1868, unburdened himself on the matter to the Trustees: —

> The members of the Senior Class who were removed from the Academy were all admitted to college. But with the exception of a single college no one of the class was received till a full and manly apology was made to us for the violation of the authority of the school, and till a paper was furnished by us to the colleges where they applied for admission, giving the facts in the case, and stating that but for the particular act of insubordination, the persons under censure would have received the usual recommendations at the close of the term. The course which these colleges took was wise and salutary.
>
> Harvard College, however, admitted those who applied without any papers of any kind from us. As I considered such a course injurious in its tendency to our school, as well as to others, I sought an interview with President Hill, during our last vacation, for the purpose of learning the facts in the case, so far as he felt at liberty to state them. He treated the matter with great candor and courtesy. He said that there was a difference of opinion among the Faculty themselves, and that they had a sharp discussion in regard to the measures he adopted, — some of their number contending that the students had been sufficiently punished by their removal from the Academy here. He said also that he ought to have written and learned more about the case; but that his mind was greatly distracted at that time. He added, too, in the end, — "I do not feel quite satisfied with our position."

The aftermath of this affair lasted some years. "Archie" Bush and some of his athletic friends went

to Harvard, where Bush, in his Sophomore year, became captain of the nine. During the three years of his captaincy Harvard won regularly from Yale, a result due largely to his brilliant playing and efficient methods of coaching. Yale men have always attributed their decline in athletics during this period to Bush's expulsion from Andover, for, even after he left Harvard, his system continued to bring victories to his *alma mater*. His record in college was a distinguished one, not only in sport, but also in scholarship and religious activity. When he died in 1877 in Liverpool, England, while he was on his honeymoon, the New York *Evening Post* spoke of him as "the most widely known college man in the United States."

Another consequence of the "Rebellion" was that extensive publicity was given to the fact that Phillips Academy did not prepare boys for Harvard; and, henceforth, certain changes in the curriculum were made inevitable. For three decades Dr. Taylor had paid no attention to entrance requirements, teaching pupils in his own effective way and relying on his personal recommendation to carry them into Yale. It was time for a modification of this system. Mr. Bullock puts the matter bluntly: —

> It was the beginning of the end of the régime of "Uncle Sam." It was the first big shake-up which speedily led to great changes at Andover, to new methods and new men. I do not by any means assume that this episode was the sole cause of the change, because it was beginning to take place everywhere. The time was ripe for a change, and it would have come anyway, sooner or later, for the old-fashioned type of school and the old-fashioned type of

THE PRINCIPAL'S HOUSE, FORMERLY THE SAMARITAN HOUSE.

THE PEASE HOUSE

schoolmaster were soon destined to pass away, never to return; but this episode hastened the day for Andover.

It should be added that the expelled boys, by a vote of the Trustees passed April 20, 1903, were reinstated in Phillips Academy, thirty-six years after the "Rebellion" had taken place.

After the annexation of the Teachers' Seminary in 1842, the daily exercises of the school were held in the Stone Academy, the classic Brick Academy having proved unsatisfactory. "We all know the Stone Academy," once said Dr. McKenzie, "and remember its large room where we met for morning and evening prayers; and above, the twin recitation rooms, and their cruel seats, and the narrow passage way between, ending at the door with the mystic and awful number." This "large room" was "Number 1," on the ground floor, where the boys assembled for religious services. On the left, as one entered at the door near the southwest corner, was a low platform, on which Dr. Taylor's chair was placed. Students as they came in had to face those already seated. In the northeast alcove stood a wheezy organ, around which were stools for the choir. Along the middle aisle were desks for the day scholars, and on either side were rows of hard wooden benches, certainly not designed for physical ease. At the opening of each term there was always an undignified and sometimes violent scramble for the favorite seats. The desks and benches were specimens of ancient carpentry, cut through and through with jackknives, and worn away by the boots of many generations of youth. Here in this hall the

boys waited for "Uncle Sam" every morning, and rose ceremoniously when he stepped in after the short walk from his house across the street. When the morning ceremonies were over, there was a grand rush for the exit, Seniors going to the notorious "Number 9," Middlers to "Number 5," and Juniors to "Number 6." Members of the English Department retired to a wooden structure which stood in the rear of the Stone Academy.

The classrooms of the Stone Academy, all of them upstairs, were, with the exception of "Number 9," poorly lighted and wretchedly ventilated, and the boys, "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd," sat in them, pursuing their work under unhygienic conditions. "Number 9" was Dr. Taylor's peculiar bailiwick, where he was enthroned, flanked by maps of the "antique world" and busts of Homer, Virgil, and other classical worthies. In the summer term, as the days grew oppressive, he would sometimes show mercy, and lead the sweltering pupils through the Elm Arch to the cool first floor of the Brick Academy.

Dr. Taylor's administration was the golden age of the Commons dormitories, when the school life centered around the two rows of what Dr. Bancroft used to call "perpendicular Gothic" and the field which lay between them. These buildings were first painted in 1846, and in 1848 the famous high fence was built in front of the Latin barracks. Many were the regulations by which the occupants were bound, — at least on paper, — but the rules were seldom taken seriously. Ashes, according to special edict, were to be thrown into brick bins in the cellar, not out of the window or

merely down the stairs. Wood was to be sawed and split outdoors or in the cellars, not in the rooms or entries, or on the doorsteps. There were careful fire laws, forbidding any one to carry a candle or lamp into any garret or cellar. But no one in Commons felt himself amenable to a penal code. The oil from the student lamps would frequently run over, and then the blazing mass would be hurled viciously through the window to the ground below or smothered in a convenient rug. On one occasion the occupants of a dormitory covered the exterior with strips of newspaper hung from the windows, and then touched them off so that a sudden flash of flame shot into the air. By the time the fire-engine had arrived, the conflagration had died down, and the boys were peacefully poring over their books. The rats and mice which infested the rooms were slain by ingenious devices.

The curious custom of "selling the bell" was then in vogue, by which boys bid for the job of ringing a huge bell every morning at five o'clock in front of each building, until the residents thus rudely awakened to another day of toil saw fit to rise and smite the ringer with missiles chosen promiscuously but usually well adapted to the purpose. The one who offered to do this for the smallest sum was awarded the contract. Every one was aware that the first stroke of the bell was the signal for hostilities; but nevertheless the office was eagerly sought for, especially by adventurous spirits, who often performed the duties for a money consideration purely nominal.

The clan loyalty of the boys led to intermittent combats, sometimes to open warfare, between the

Latin and English Commons. The Latin men stuffed the chimneys of their rivals across the Campus and enjoyed a few hours of wild delight, until the English students retaliated effectively by salting the Latin Commons well. In winter weather, after a snowball battle, there was often hardly a bit of window glass in any one of the buildings, and the broken panes, stuffed with discarded articles of wearing apparel, did not add to the architectural beauty of the Commons.

Dr. Taylor was, of course, aware of these crude conditions, and in 1847 spoke vigorously on the subject to the Trustees, pointing out that "the mere presence of a teacher in one of the dormitories would be a sufficient restraint to such as might be disposed to make any disturbance." The Board at once voted that two rooms, one in each row, should be fitted up for the accommodation of one instructor in each department. This step marks the small beginning of the present system of Faculty proctorship. Even after this resolution was passed, however, the policing of the Commons was rarely more than nominal, and the dormitories were frequently the theater of tumultuous disorder, which could be quelled only by the appearance of "Uncle Sam" himself. Not until the Faculty was considerably enlarged could this plan, so indisputably correct in principle, be properly put into operation.

Throughout this period Academic Commons or boarding-houses were kept under various proprietors, food being provided at very low cost. In 1842, as announced in the catalogue, the price was ninety-

four cents, in 1843, seventy-six cents a week; in 1849 it had risen to one dollar and thirty-seven cents; in 1857 the "extreme cost of provisions" raised the rate to two dollars; and in war time the boys had to pay two dollars and a half. The Latin Commons boarding-house, called, for some unknown reason, "Chocolate Hall," was kept for years in the farmhouse formerly located on the corner of Main and Phillips Streets, where Tucker House now stands; the Steward until 1844 was Isaac Farley, who was succeeded by his son, Isaac Alvan Farley. The boarders in 1845 elected one of their number as President, his duty being to carry complaints to the Steward. Milk and eggs were furnished from the farm itself.

It was in connection with this boarding-house that an incident occurred which, apparently quite trivial, led to important consequences. George B. Clark, a student in the class of 1846, became interested in what one of his teachers told him about telescopes, and, when one day the Commons dinner bell broke, he secured the fragments, melted them in a ladle, cast the fluid into a disk, and started to grind it into a reflector. His father, happening to discover him at work, made inquiries, and assisted him in completing the grinding. When the results turned out to be satisfactory, Alvan G. Clark, the father, formed a company for the manufacture of lenses and refractors, and eventually made many large telescopes, including that in the National Observatory and the famous forty-inch Yerkes refractor at the University of Chicago.

The Commons boarding-house was given up in 1849

on the ground that the proprietor could not pay expenses, but was later resumed under a new manager. The old farmhouse was used in 1852 for the Union Club, of which Alexander McKenzie was President and William A. Mowry the Secretary and Caterer. Mr. Mowry purchased the food, and a Miss Gould kept the house and did the cooking for thirty-seven and a half cents a week per head. Dr. McKenzie once described the bill of fare as consisting of "bread and molasses every day, beefsteak from the neighboring tannery once a week and apple pie on Sunday, with once in a while some buckwheat fritters that boys used to use when they wanted to pitch quoits." Other eating-clubs were also formed, one or two of which had a fairly long life. The Eureka Club, started April 23, 1857, had a pompous constitution, with provision for a "reader," whose duty it was to entertain the members with a newspaper or any desired publication for fifteen minutes during supper. The Crescent Club, which flourished for some years, held sumptuous annual banquets, at which the officers made speeches. Possibly the best-known was the Shawsheen Club, which had its headquarters in the old Abbot House on Phillips Street. In 1866 there were three such clubs, board at one being $2.75, and at the other two $3.40, a week. At this date the more luxurious "Boarding-House" was charging between $5 and $5.50. In all these places the boys complained intermittently of the poor quality of the food, and written protests were frequently drawn up in remonstrance. "The eating-clubs," says President Thwing, speaking of the year 1870, "were rather

wretched, so wretched as to be objects of horrible remembrance."

Although Dr. Taylor was a strict disciplinarian, he believed in the policy of leaving the eating-clubs almost entirely in the hands of the students. They were also allowed to form other organizations, literary, social, and athletic, and so long as these did not violate any important rule, they were not interfered with. These societies will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. It is interesting that the Principal should have tolerated, in a school paper like the *Philomathean Mirror*, a freedom of speech regarding himself and his colleagues little short of extraordinary. This frankness, however, became license in the various broadsides issued at the close of the year by the upper classes. In these, "Uncle Sam," the Faculty, citizens of the town, and members of the rival class were often made the subjects of scurrilous attacks; not even the "Fem. Sem." and the "Nunnery"[1] were spared. Of these sheets the earliest one in possession of the Academy is *The Phillipian*, dated July 28, 1857, which contains a humorous account of a Faculty meeting and some *Lines on Uncle*, the quality of which may be judged from the following quotation:—

> He stands aloft, a great Colossus,
> As high, as tall, and ponderous

[1] The "Nunnery," a select private school for girls conducted by Mrs. Bela Bates Edwards from 1832 until 1864, was located on Main Street in the house now occupied by Professor William H. Ryder. It was never a large institution, and in no sense rivaled Abbot Academy, although it was supposed to be somewhat more aristocratic.

As that of Rhodes, whose legs stretched o'er
A harbor wide, from shore to shore.
His voice is hoarse, his head is thick,
A giant he in rhetoric;
In Greek an Ajax, and a giant
To all the Roman men defiant.

The Plaindealer, with a motto "Justitia ad Omnes," appeared July 29, 1861, its publisher being "Greeley Horace" and its editor "Professor E. A. Sparks." Its most amusing article is an account of Dr. Taylor's examination of the Middle Class. The motto of *The Scalpel*, dated July 28, 1863, is "Incido ut Sanem," and its contents include an attack on Andover boarding-houses, a verse satire on tradesmen in the town, and a ribald account of Dr. Taylor's alleged misdeeds and escapades during his trip abroad. On July 26, 1864, was published *The Censor*, interesting chiefly because of one of its essays which, alluding to the comparison between Dr. Taylor and Dr. Arnold, says: —

How were these illusions dispelled after being in the place for a few days! Where was the kind, sympathizing Arnold, — where the ready smile, the cheering word, which, from the comparison, we had been led to expect? The distant freezing nod told us the difference. Instead of the genial warmth of the kind-hearted father and friend, we found a bundle of Latin and Greek, — Kühner's Grammar personified, — together with a little rhetoric, logic, elocution, etc.

There are also criticisms of the Principal's interference in Philo elections and of "the system of sneaking and prying which is practiced by some of the teachers." The advertisements in this paper are often dis-

graceful in their tone. *The Phœnix*, printed July 25, 1865, contains an attack on "Uncle's system of spying" and gives an interesting description of a day at Phillips, with a typical interview between an innocent "cad" and the Principal. A caustic analysis of Dr. Taylor's qualifications as a preceptor says: "He goes on the principle, 'Teach those a good deal who know a good deal; to those who don't know much, pay little attention.'" *The Scorpion*, which came out July 24, 1866, has a motto, "Resistance to Tyranny is Obedience to God," and includes in its pages a witty skit entitled *Avunculus on a Raid* and a poem in the meter of *Hiawatha*, ridiculing all the instructors, especially the notorious "flogging Bridgman."

The "Mock Programmes" sometimes surreptitiously circulated on Exhibition Days belong to the same class of coarse literature. One of the earliest, dated July 27, 1859, is, when viewed superficially, exactly like the standard programmes usually provided for the guests. The order of exercises, however, is sheer burlesque, the rather primitive humor of the authors being displayed at its best (or worst) in the familiar device of taking the initials of various speakers and affixing to them nonsensical adjectives. Thus T. A. Emerson is transformed into "T-raveling A-pe" Emerson, and G. H. is metamorphosed into "G-iddy H-eaded." The mirth excited by these feeble attempts at cleverness could never have been hilarious. The "Mock Programme" produced by the Middlers in 1864 announced the "Only Appearance of Sam Taylor's Educated Gorillas," and opened the exercises with a "Hog-Latin Salutatory, by J-ust A-bout

D-runk Hughes." In 1866 the Middlers had on their title-page, "Order of Exercises at the Exhibition of the Senior Class of Phillips Insane Asylum." Several other such "Mock Programmes" are in existence, but they vary only in minor details from those already mentioned.

One celebration of a picturesque kind was the "Burning of Kühner" held by departing Seniors on the Monday evening before the Exhibition. It was preceded usually by a class supper at the Mansion House, in the course of which original songs, with hits on the teachers, were sung. In 1860 the exercises closed with smoking the "Pipe of Peace," which was then handed on to a committee of the class of 1861. Another feature of the evening was a band concert. After the banquet was over, a procession, headed by the band, formed in the outskirts of the town, sometimes in Frye Village, sometimes nearer, in Love Lane, and, after parading down Main Street and up School Street, with a halt for a cheer at the "Fem. Sem.," broke ranks in front of "Old Brick." Here a gloomy requiem was chanted, an oration was delivered, and then a fire was lighted, around which the Seniors danced, throwing their textbooks into the flames and singing an appropriate dirge. Many of the songs written for these occasions show decided ability. Unfortunately, the celebration could not be confined always to students alone, but was attended by townspeople, some alumni, and not a few disreputable characters from adjacent cities. "Uncle Sam" himself, it is said, often watched the proceedings from a convenient distance. One particularly

boisterous demonstration was attended by interesting results, as described by Mr. Noah H. Swayne, of the class of 1866: —

Just about the time of graduation some members of the class of '66 burned publicly Kühner's *Grammar*. . . . I was not present at the celebration, but after entering Yale, I was called upon, as were the other members of my class from Andover, for letters from Dr. Taylor. We none of us had received any, and were therefore notified that we were not eligible for matriculation. The matter ran on, we attending our regular recitations and acting as members of the class of 1870 at Yale. One member of the class wrote to Dr. Taylor to know why we did not receive our letters. A characteristic letter was received from Dr. Taylor, referring to the conduct of the class of '66 and the disorderly action on the night when the grammar was burned, and informing us that every member of our class must sign an apology before he would issue the necessary papers for us to be matriculated. We accordingly held a meeting, and the secretary wrote what we thought a sufficiently abject apology, signed it, and forwarded it to Dr. Taylor. He wrote back that it was no apology at all, and returned it. We then applied to Professor Thatcher for the form of an apology, which he wrote for us. We signed this and forwarded it to Dr. Taylor, only to receive the information that, as an apology, it was very much worse, very much weaker, and more unsatisfactory than the prior paper. We were up a tree then. We did not know what to do until the happy inspiration came to us of attaching our names to a blank paper, which was forwarded to Dr. Taylor and by him accepted. The necessary papers were forwarded to the college authorities, followed by matriculation. I understand that Dr. Taylor read before the students in Andover at morning prayers a long and humble apology, but none of us ever saw it.

After 1866 the picturesque spectacle became a thing

of the past, like the Eton "Montem," and in its place a tame band concert was held for the edification of Exhibition guests.

There can be no doubt that "Uncle Sam" was compelled through circumstances to ignore many forms of student rascality. Outside the classroom supervision could not be comprehensive. Campus bonfires were lighted on Hallowe'en and Thanksgiving Eve, and there were many night excursions to neighboring cities, like Lawrence, Lowell, and Haverhill. There was no "eight-o'clock rule," and, if there had been, it could not have been enforced. Mr. John B. D. Cogswell, of the class of 1846, used to tell gleefully of a schoolboy adventure, when he and three companions determined on Christmas Day to escape to Boston:—

Infinite precaution being taken to conceal the route of our departure, we drove to Boston in high spirits, went to the Howard Athenæum (then the home of the "legitimate drama") in the evening, ate an oyster supper with "Tom and Jerry" at Brigham's Concert Hall, and at midnight called for our team and started for Andover; but the fun was now over. A snow-storm came on, followed by rain and a thaw. We lost our way in the darkness, and at last one of us, climbing a guide-post, discovered that we were midway between Salem and Andover, and headed for Salem. We retraced our course, and, just as day was dawning, reëntered Andover by the old Brick Academy, and, speedily disengaging ourselves from the carriage, trotted through the slush to our rooms and concealment, now pretty tired of the frolic, and beginning to feel mortal terrors lest the all-seeing eye of "Uncle Sam" should fall upon us, or our escapade should be reported to him by some of the "spies," in whose existence we profoundly believed. For it was said that "Uncle Sam" encouraged

the Jesuit system of delation. Stolen, fearful joys! Whatever punishments we deserved, we at all events escaped them.

Similar evasions of rules took place, of course, again and again among the wealthier and more daring boys, who were willing to risk expulsion for the sake of one night's dissipation. Such students, however, were not representative of the school under Dr. Taylor.

Much of the disorder and mischief of this period may be attributed to the lack of organized athletics, which to-day give robust boys a legitimate vent for pent-up energy. In the spring and summer the more muscular swam in Pomp's or in the Shawsheen, and sometimes tried their skill at the rude game of "rounders," out of which, about 1860, baseball was beginning to evolve. In the winter there was coasting on huge "double-runners" down School and Phillips Streets, interrupted periodically by prohibitions from the "town fathers." The Commons pupils probably found exercise enough in sweeping their rooms, carrying away ashes, and bringing pails of water from the well. But there were no compulsory sports, and a boy physically indolent might remain at Phillips Academy for three or four years without taking part in an outdoor game.

One passable substitute for a football eleven was a fire brigade. The Trustees, for the protection of school property, had purchased and repaired a feeble second-hand fire-engine, which was dragged out on any conceivable pretext, "Uncle Sam" being the chief in charge. With a conflagration of any size this apparatus was ludicrously ineffective, but in extinguishing

smaller blazes the company performed excellent service. In 1851, as the Honorable John Winslow used to tell the story, one of the English Commons caught fire, and the brigade, under Dr. Taylor's orders, undertook to operate the engine, but wholly without success. Winslow then told "Uncle Sam" that he had once managed a similar machine, and that, if everybody would man the brakes and obey instructions, all would go well; thereupon the stalwart Principal fell back with the rank and file, and Winslow conducted further proceedings. In the end the dormitory was destroyed, but the adjoining buildings were saved.

Once in the late autumn, when the grass was long and dry, an irrepressible youngster set fire to it in front of the Latin Commons, on the land back of the Academy farmhouse; the blaze spread, and some of the farm employees tried to check it. The boys across the road rather enjoyed the fun, and did not go to the assistance of the fire brigade — with the exception of the guilty underclassman who had started the excitement and who was afraid that the flames might cause some damage. The next morning after prayers "Uncle Sam" proceeded to reprimand the entire school severely for not having been of more aid, and then added, "But there was one noble individual who helped to put out the fire." This sentence he uttered in his most impressive, sub-bass manner. At this the boys, acquainted with the truth, burst into ear-splitting laughter, much to the Principal's astonishment and wrath; and he was never able to discover the cause of this sudden merriment.

The Wednesday afternoon declamations, instituted

by Principal Adams, were continued under Dr. Taylor, the oratory being of the florid, melodramatic variety so common at that time in Congress. The walls of the Brick Academy echoed and reëchoed with *The Burial of Moses*, *Hohenlinden*, *Spartacus to the Gladiators* (popular because it was written by Elijah Kellogg in 1843 when he was a student in the Seminary), and other rousing old-time classics. Small sums were appropriated each year for instruction in public speaking, which, prior to the arrival of Professor Churchill in 1866, was usually given in a desultory way by some impecunious "theologue." At the Wednesday afternoon performances "Uncle Sam" was a relentless critic, who did his best with withering irony or frank ridicule to eradicate affectation. "You go to the very extreme," he would say; "you should use the 'happy medium.'" Once a tall, green rustic delivered an oration with much violent gesticulation, and finally, at the words, "and in the dust sat down," took the passage literally, and sat down on the stage. When the would-be Webster had returned to his seat, Dr. Taylor said, "Jennison, there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and you have taken it; you are excused from the room."

The annual Exhibitions, corresponding to the present Commencement, commonly took place in late July or early August, at the very hottest time of the Andover year. In the morning were held the oral examinations conducted by the Principal in the presence of a committee of the Trustees. It seemed to little Elizabeth Stuart Phelps as if everybody at an Exhibition was afraid of the Trustees, and she cherished a

devout but hidden antagonism towards them. In the afternoon came the "speaking," which, until 1865, took place in the upper story of "Old Brick." Admission was by ticket, but the narrow stairway was packed with people long before the doors were opened, and the hall was seldom large enough for the crowd. At one end of the room was a platform, to which orators ascended in unique fashion by means of a ladder from the outside of the building. When General Nathaniel P. Banks was Governor, he was a guest at an Exhibition, and, being obliged to leave early, caused much amusement by making his exit on the boys' ladder — not by crawling backwards, but face foremost, as in going downstairs. The programmes on these occasions were generally of great length. In 1852 there were twenty-five separate numbers, including a Greek dialogue, an English dialogue, two discussions (one on *The Comparative Facilities for Doing Good and Evil*), and several English, Latin, and Greek orations, the list closing with an original ode by Miss Hannah F. Gould, the Newburyport poetess. The Exhibition of 1863 had also twenty-five "pieces," orations, colloquies, and dialogues, beginning with a Latin Salutatory and closing with an "English Oration, with the Valedictory."

The later date of the Exhibitions as compared with that of Commencement to-day is explained by the division of the school year. In 1838 the Trustees voted "that the summer vacation in the Classical Department commence on the second Wednesday in August." In 1843 this was moved back to the first Wednesday in August. In 1854, with a new arrange-

ment, the Academy closed on the last Wednesday in July, there being three vacations during the year: one of five weeks, following the Exhibition; one of three weeks, after the first Wednesday before Thanksgiving; one of three weeks, after the last Wednesday of March. Until Dr. Taylor's death, school, according to the Puritan custom, was kept on Christmas Day, that festival being considered to be a "Papist feast," associated with masques and revelry, dancing and the wassail bowl, and such secular delights as those described in Irving's *Christmas Eve* and *Christmas Day*. A complete calendar was, in 1863, included in the catalogue; according to that schedule, the Academy year was to begin September 2 and to conclude July 26, with vacations aggregating eleven weeks. In 1866 a distinct change was made by pushing back the Exhibition to July 2, and lengthening the summer recess to eight weeks. When in 1871 the summer vacation period was extended to eleven weeks, with the Exhibition on June 18, the arrangement corresponded closely to that in use to-day.

When Daniel Webster came to Andover in 1840 to address the Whigs, the boys had a huge dinner and "row-de-dow." One among the hero-worshipers noticed and remembered that "the God-like spoke most of the time with his hands in his breeches pockets."

This was not the only great event that occurred in Dr. Taylor's régime. The fiftieth anniversary of Phillips Academy had been passed in 1828 without a word of comment; not so, however, with the Seminary semicentennial, which was observed on August 4 and 5, 1858. A huge tent was raised on the Training-

Field in front of the Mansion House; there, on the second day, a dinner was held, after which came almost innumerable addresses, which were interrupted, perhaps providentially, by a most dramatic incident. In the midst of the flow of oratory, when President Wayland, of Brown, was delivering a eulogy on Professor Stuart, the news came unexpectedly of the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. President Wayland was allowed to finish, but, as soon as his last word was spoken, the great throng arose to their feet as one man; dignified clergymen cheered, clapped, pounded on tables, and waved their hats; the tumult for a few minutes resembled that of a political convention. Man after man rushed to the platform to utter his word of prayer or thanksgiving, until there were nearly as many speakers as auditors. And then the vast assemblage joined spontaneously in the doxology, —

Praise God from whom all blessings flow.

Another memorable event was the fall of the Pemberton Mill in the city of Lawrence in 1860. On January 10 the roof and walls of this huge structure collapsed, burying seven hundred and fifty men and women, of whom nearly a hundred were killed. The débris took fire from an overturned lantern, and a terrible conflagration followed. Some of the Academy boys who ran to the scene still remember how the girls imprisoned in the flames sang "Shall we gather at the river?" as death came nearer and nearer.

The Civil War had, of course, no small effect on Phillips Academy. In 1862 Dr. Taylor reported: —

The general state of the country is not as favorable for study as in more quiet times; greater effort on the part of the teachers is required to secure the usual amount of study; yet it is believed that good progress has been made during the year, by the great majority of the members of the school.

In the conflict itself the Principal felt, apparently, little interest, for he served on none of the numerous town committees formed to rouse enthusiasm, and he, so far as can be ascertained, made no speeches at public gatherings, as nearly all the Seminary professors did. His indifference, however, was not shared by Phillips men, who, undergraduates and alumni, enlisted to the number of over six hundred in the two armies. Within a few weeks after the declaration of war companies were organized in the Academy and in the Seminary, the Academy boys calling themselves the "Ellsworth Guards." For this company, captained by John Hanson Thomson, of the class of 1861, the girls of Abbot Academy made uniforms, consisting of gray caps and suits of blue trimmed with red. In all the patriotic demonstration in the town the "Guards" took a prominent part. On May 19, 1861, the boys attended Professor Stowe's sermon before the Andover Light Infantry. On June 4 a large flag was raised over the Seminary Chapel, with appropriate exercises, including a prayer by Professor Park, a presentation address by Professor Phelps, an oration by Professor Stowe, and the singing of an original "Banner Song," written for the occasion by Mrs. Stowe. The Academy company created no small sensation as, wearing their picturesque new uniforms,

they marched across the Campus to the Chapel. On the following day, when a flag was raised over the Mansion House by its proprietor, Mr. Bodwell, the "Guards" were again present, and carried on an exhibition drill on the Training-Field. On June 22, in front of the South Church, the students of Phillips Academy presented to the Andover Light Infantry a beautiful white silk banner, with the state arms on one side and a pine tree, with an inscription, on the other. Two days later the "Ellsworth Guards" escorted the Light Infantry to the railroad station, where they set out for Fort Warren.

When the news of the surrender of Vicksburg reached Andover on Tuesday, July 7, 1863, bells were rung and a huge bonfire was kindled on the Campus. On July 21, 1864, the students, headed by their teachers, met at the station those Andover soldiers whose term of service had expired, and drew them in barges to the Town Hall. The election of that fall aroused great interest, and, when the results were known, a Philo poet burst into song: —

> Come all to-night, hurrah for the right!
> For Lincoln has carried the day;
> And Philo's men, with their voice and pen,
> Are ready his will to obey.

The spirit of Andover Hill during this critical period is well portrayed in one of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's best stories, *The Oath of Allegiance.*

Of the recruits from Andover so many gained distinction that it would be showing unjust discrimination to mention names. Professor Stowe's son, Frederick E. Stowe, and Dr. Taylor's son, George H.

Taylor, both served honorably in the Northern ranks. One dramatic death was that of Samuel Hopkins Thompson, of the class of 1862, who enlisted within two weeks after graduation, was elected a lieutenant, and was killed at Antietam, October 22, 1862, while leading his troops to the charge with the words, "Form on me, boys, form on me." A portrait of this boy hero, hardly over twenty years old when he died, was presented to Phillips Academy in 1878.

One interesting incident happened not long after the war, when, one morning after chapel, "Uncle Sam," adjusting his spectacles, read the following communication: —

It gives me pleasure to herewith enclose my check for $500 for the education of a negro in Phillips Academy.

(Signed) BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Lowell, Massachusetts.

The announcement was received with some obsequious applause, but with more shuffling of feet in disapproval, for up to this time no negro had attended the school and General Butler was not a popular character in Andover.

Some of the best pictures of Academy life under "Uncle Sam" come from old letters. One youngster, writing in 1840, tells of boarding in Commons. The boys there had a field set apart for their own use, in which they grew vegetables for the table. The work in this field was not pleasant, and aroused the wrath of the youthful correspondent: —

But the greatest trouble is, we have to earn our bread and then pay for it. Yesterday they started about twenty of us out in the field after dinner to pulling weeds among

the potatoes. They made us work there about an hour, when it was time for me to recite, and I had no lesson in consequence. But that was n't all; this afternoon I, with about half a dozen others, was told to go to work pulling weeds again. The reason of this was, they said, that we did not work well enough yesterday, and must do some more to-day and make up. I worked about fifteen minutes, and then pulled up stakes and off, telling the "boss" they had put over us that, if they wanted any more weeds pulled that afternoon, they might take them to some other market. A number of others followed my example, and the rest worked three-quarters of an hour longer. But this pulling weeds from among potatoes don't agree with me at all.

It is well, also, to get another point of view. The stories which graduates remember best are those of student pranks and riots, of extraordinary situations and unusual events. Most of the pupils pursued the "even tenor of their way," doing their daily tasks with regularity and never coming into contact with the law. What some of the poorer boys had to go through is shown by a letter written on October 6, 1847, by John B. Smith, of the class of 1850, to his brother: —

My work and study hours are something as follows: rise in the morning at about 5.30 o'clock, build two fires (probably more when it is colder), work around the barn, such as milk one cow, take care of the horses, and saw wood until 7.30, when I eat my breakfast; then, if there is anything in particular to do, if a man has stopped here over night, he usually starts away about this time, I put his horse in, etc.; if not, I prepare for school and look over my lesson, if I have time, till 8.30, when I attend prayers in the Academy. My recitations commence at 9 o'clock, continue till 10.30, then go to my room and study till 12 o'clock, chore

around till about 1 o'clock. Afternoon recitations, 1.30 to 3, study till 4.30, prayers at the Academy till 5, work till dark, supper. I study some in the evening and read some.

I joined a society this term called the Philomathean, by the payment of 50 cents. I have as many books as I want from the Library belonging to this society. I have only one pair of woolen pants fit to wear. I shall have to wear thick pants all the time now, but I will try to make these do till I go home again.

A student with such a daily schedule to confront was not likely to have surplus energy to waste when evening arrived, nor was there any danger of his coming into conflict with school discipline.

Although no one of Dr. Taylor's students became so widely known as Holmes or Morse, a large number gained distinction. The one who did most for Phillips Academy was Melville Cox Day (1839–1913), of the class of 1858, who, under Dr. Bancroft and Dr. Stearns, was the school's most liberal benefactor. With him must be named his intimate friend and classmate, John Phelps Taylor (1841–1915), who was chiefly instrumental in arousing Mr. Day's interest in the modern Phillips Academy and who himself made generous gifts to the institution. Among the generals who served in the Northern army were several Andover men: David B. Birney (1825–64), Charles P. Mattocks (1840–1910), Oliver H. Payne (1841–), William F. Bartlett (1840–76), and William Cogswell (1838–95). The list of prominent educators is very long: Franklin Carter (1837–), President of Williams; Charles F. Thwing (1853–), President of Western Reserve; William T. Harris (1835–1909), United States Commissioner of Education;

Albert C. Perkins (1833–96), Principal of the Phillips Exeter Academy; Hollis B. Frissell (1851–), Principal of Hampton Institute; Joseph Ward (1838–89), President of Yankton College; Henry P. Wright (1839–), Dean of Yale; Joseph H. Neesima (1843–91), President of Doshisha College, Japan; Augustine M. Gay (1827–76), Head Master of Boston Latin School; George Washburn (1833–1915), President of Robert College, Constantinople; William A. Packard (1830–1909), Professor at Dartmouth and Princeton; Arthur M. Wheeler (1836–), Professor at Yale; and William A. Mowry (1829–), editor and author of many educational books. Among the judges are Robert R. Bishop (1834–1909), of the Massachusetts Superior Court; Charles Doe (1830–96), Chief Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court; John W. Bacon (1818–88), of the Massachusetts Superior Court; and John A. Aiken (1850–), Chief Justice of that court. Among the authors, of less or greater note, are Frederick W. Loring (1846–71); Arthur S. Hardy (1847–), whose *But Yet a Woman* is still famous; George H. Derby (1823–61), who as "Squibob" and "John Phœnix" was one of the best-known humorists of his time; Joseph H. Gilmore (1834–), who wrote the hymn, "He leadeth me"; John Albee (1833–1915), the New Hampshire bard; Robert C. Winthrop (1834–1905), the historian; and Nathan Haskell Dole (1852–) and George Herbert Palmer (1839–), both happily still among the living. William Hayes Ward (1835–1916), editor of the *Independent*, and Talcott Williams (1849–), of the Columbia School of Journalism, sat under Dr. Taylor, as did also Roswell W.

Smith (1829–92), founder of the Century Company, and Joseph Cook (1838–1901), the eminent lecturer. Among the representatives of science are Henry A. Rowland (1848–1901), the physicist; Othniel C. Marsh (1831–99), the palæontologist; James B. Hammond (1839–1913), inventor of the typewriter; George B. Clark (1827–1901), builder of telescopes and reflectors; Ralph Emerson (1831–1914), maker of agricultural implements; Moses G. Farmer (1820–93), and William L. B. Jenney (1832–1907). Richard H. Stearns (1824–1909) and Eben D. Jordan (1822–95) founded great stores in Boston. Many distinguished themselves in political life: Daniel H. Chamberlain (1835–1907), Governor of South Carolina; William Wallace Crapo (1830–), member of Congress; William E. Dorsheimer (1832–88), Lieutenant-Governor of New York; Charles P. Taft (1843–), member of Congress; Horace Fairbanks (1820–88), Governor of Vermont; Frederick Smyth (1819–99), Governor of New Hampshire; Francis Wayland (1826–1904), Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut and Dean of the Yale Law School; and Walker Blaine (1855–90), the diplomat. Louis K. Harlow (1850–1913), the artist, and Samuel Isham (1855–1914), the historian of art, were Andover men. In the church, too, others may be named: Charles C. Grafton (1830–1912), Bishop of Wisconsin; Cortlandt Whitehead (1842–), Bishop of Pittsburgh; William W. Leonard (1846–); Leander T. Chamberlain (1837–1913), the famous preacher; and Newman Smyth (1843–). In other fields, also, Andover graduates won fame: Matthew C. D. Borden (1842–1912), the manufacturer, who gave a large

sum for the building of the Borden Gymnasium; Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903), the landscape architect; Thomas Doane (1821–97), Chief Engineer of the Hoosac Tunnel; Edwin Stewart (1837–), Rear-Admiral of the United States Navy; and John Hyde DeForest (1844–1911), the missionary, who was decorated by the Mikado of Japan.

The men who attended Phillips Academy under Dr. Taylor look back upon their school days with mingled emotions. They have not forgotten the overpowering personality of "Uncle Sam," his rigid discipline and his stern demeanor in the classroom. Many of them recall with a shudder certain rough experiences in the old Commons, or in the none too seductive eating-clubs. A few, unfortunately, still cherish a dislike for the school and all for which it stood; but the wiser and more tolerant, looking through the proper perspective, realize that Phillips Academy, with all its faults and virtues, was then fairly representative of some phases of American education at that period.

CHAPTER XV

THE SCHOOL AND THE HILL IN THE MID-CENTURY

Men perish; institutions remain.

To those especially interested in the administration and financial control of Phillips Academy the years from 1840 to 1870 presented many perplexing problems. Not the least of these was the question of readjustment after the union with the Teachers' Seminary in 1842. Evidently some trouble had been anticipated, for Dr. Taylor, in his report for 1843, said with some complacency: —

> No collisions or difficulties of any kind have arisen between the members of the two departments. They board together in Commons, and meet together for morning and evening prayers, without any distinction.

The classical students, it is true, treated their English fellows with some superciliousness, but this attitude seems seldom to have been resented and the peace was never broken. By 1847 the English pupils had grown to outnumber those on the classical side, and continued to do so until 1852; then the preponderance returned to the Classical Department, where it has ever since remained.

The two departments, as a matter of fact, continued to be practically distinct until Dr. Bancroft's administration. Dr. Taylor held the title of Principal and attended to all matters of discipline, but he had no interest in a scheme of education which discarded

Latin and Greek. The teacher in charge of the English Department could, if he possessed ability, make himself almost independent. Until 1866 the graduating class was composed only of classical pupils. No one but an occasional prodigy ever entered college from the English Department, simply because the instruction offered there did not qualify young men for admission. Scholars in the English Department were not divided formally into classes, but were permitted to choose between "Common Branches" and "Higher Branches"; and the courses offered varied considerably from year to year.

The instructors in the English Department, however, were men of much more than average talent. William Harvey Wells, who, after the union in 1842, continued as Head of the English Department, gained great popularity with the students through his affability, which was strikingly contrasted with Dr. Taylor's austerity. "He encouraged intimacy, and responded with advice and sympathy," says the Honorable W. W. Crapo, one of his pupils in 1844. His resignation, which was presented in 1847, was directly due to a disagreement which he had with "Uncle Sam." Mr. Wells was followed in office by James Stewart Eaton [1] (1816–65), who remained in

[1] James Stewart Eaton was born in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, November 13, 1816, and graduated from the Teachers' Seminary at Andover as Valedictorian of the class of 1839. After teaching one year on Cape Cod, he was placed in charge of the English Department at Bacon Academy at Colchester, Connecticut, John Adams's former school. From here he was, in 1847, called to Andover. While at Phillips Academy he wrote a series of *Arithmetics*, which had an extensive sale. Mr. Eaton died in Andover in October, 1865, literally worn out by long years of arduous teaching, with hardly a week's complete rest. His

charge of the English Department for eighteen years. He was a gentleman of scholarly tastes and high intellectual ideals, who, with little assistance from Dr. Taylor, did his best, in the face of many annoyances, to maintain a creditable standard of work. That he was obliged to be extraordinarily busy is indicated by a paragraph in the first of his annual reports to the Trustees, dated August 1, 1848: —

I have daily attended to from eight to ten recitations in the following branches; viz., Geography, Eng. Grammar with an analysis of the poets, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Bookkeeping by Double Entry, Reading, and Spelling.

At the end of his fifth, tenth, and fifteenth years he made elaborate surveys of the developments which had taken place under his jurisdiction. While Dr. Taylor was abroad in 1856, Mr. Eaton was appointed Acting Principal, and performed his duties most acceptably. It is worth noting that Mr. Eaton, always an overworked man, never received over $1200 a year.

At Mr. Eaton's death William Blair Graves [1] (1834–

portrait, painted by Miss Emily A. Means, was presented to Phillips Academy at the centennial celebration in 1878, with a memorial address by William A. Mowry. His name is perpetuated in Eaton Cottage, an Academy dormitory. He was a modest and unassuming man, with a skill in elucidation which made him eminently successful as a teacher, and a kind heart which won universal affection.

[1] Professor Graves's long career in Phillips Academy is familiar to all recent graduates. Born in Fairlee, Vermont, on February 2, 1834, he studied at Kimball Academy and at Lawrence Academy, and graduated from Amherst in 1862. After three years of teaching in small country schools, he returned to Amherst in 1864 as Walker Instructor in Mathematics. In 1865 he came to Phillips Academy, but resigned in 1870 to accept a place as professor in Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio. In

1915) was invited to fill the vacant position, with the tacit understanding that he was to be allowed to carry out some of the reforms for which Mr. Eaton had pleaded in vain. Mr. Graves, who was full of progressive ideas, was assisted in his plans by an unexpected stroke of good fortune. In the early summer of 1865, as the procession, headed by the band, was marching to the Mansion House to escort Trustees and guests to the Exhibition Hall, George Peabody, the banker and philanthropist, some of whose relatives had graduated from the Academy, said to Treasurer John L. Taylor, "What do you need most now for the school?" "A teacher of mathematics," was the reply. "What will it cost?" "About $25,000." "I will take care of it," said Mr. Peabody; and he did. Some correspondence between him and the Trustees ended in the public announcement on July 23, 1866, that he had given $25,000 for the establishment of a chair of mathematics and the natural sciences. Mr. Graves was soon after appointed the first Peabody Instructor.

The part played by Mr. Graves in reorganizing the English Department and moulding it into a scientific school preparing for college has never been fully recognized. He removed from the catalogue the statement that "special attention is given to those who are qualifying themselves to be teachers"; he framed

1874 he returned to the East to Massachusetts Agricultural College, and in 1881, at Dr. Bancroft's solicitation, he took again his post in Phillips Academy. He held his position as Peabody Professor until June, 1908, when, at his own wish, he was made Professor Emeritus. He died in Andover, May 5, 1915, in the Adams House on Salem Street, which he had long occupied. His portrait by H. Winthrop Pierce was presented to Phillips Academy by his widow.

and published a graded course of study, covering three full years; and he induced the Trustees, not only to award diplomas to graduates from his department, but also to permit its scholars to participate in the exercises at the annual Exhibition. Furthermore, he revised the antiquated curriculum by eliminating many of the subjects, like scientific agriculture and Paley's *Natural Theology*, which improved theories in education had been forcing teachers to discard. In general what Mr. Graves did was to bring the English Department up to date, by carefully pruning and modifying the course of study and by infusing into it a spirit of energy and enthusiasm. In four years he accomplished much; but his interest in more advanced work led him in 1870 to accept a position in Marietta College. Two months later William Gleason Goldsmith [1] (1832–1910) received an appointment as Peabody Instructor.

The teachers on the classical side were in many cases men who later achieved success in other schools or professions.[2] It was obviously impossible, however,

[1] William G. Goldsmith was born in Andover, November 28, 1832, attended Phillips Academy, and graduated from Harvard in 1857. In 1858 he became Principal of Punchard Free School in Andover, from which position he was called in 1870 to become Peabody Instructor in Phillips Academy. After Dr. Taylor's death, he was made Acting Principal, but later returned to Punchard, where he remained until his resignation in 1886. He was Postmaster of Andover from 1886 to 1895, and Selectman from 1898 to 1901. He died October 7, 1910. Mr. Goldsmith was a quiet, scholarly man who was everywhere respected. Had he been a teacher on the classical side, he would probably have been elected Principal after Dr. Taylor's death. As it was, Mr. Tilton was preferred.

[2] Among the assistant teachers under Dr. Taylor who afterwards won distinction may be named Charles A. Aiken, who became President of Union Theological Seminary and Professor at Princeton Seminary;

with the small salaries which the Trustees were able to offer, to keep good instructors for any length of time. Those who were really ambitious saw that there was no future ahead in Phillips Academy, and quickly secured better positions elsewhere. In 1854 Dr. Taylor wrote: —

It has been my impression for several years past that the interests of the Academy suffer from a too frequent change of teachers. Those remaining but one or two years only get well prepared to teach by the time they leave.

In his report for 1867 he pointed out that the situation was becoming very serious: —

I regret to be obliged to repeat what was contained in my report of last year, — that the Academy suffers from so frequent a change of teachers. One of our teachers left at the close of the autumn term on account of an inadequate salary; and his place has been supplied since by three different teachers. Most of these supplies have been from the Theological Seminary, the persons employed hearing a single recitation in the morning and in the afternoon. While we have been fortunate in obtaining good men, and while the character of the instruction has been well sustained, — much better than we could have expected with so great a variety of teachers, — these changes are not favorable to the best interests of the school. So far as the changes are attributable to a deficiency in the salaries of

William A. Packard, Professor at Dartmouth and Princeton; Charles A. Young, Professor at Western Reserve, Dartmouth, and Princeton; William H. Fenn, a clergyman in Manchester, New Hampshire, and in Portland, Maine; John E. Todd, a pastor in Boston and in New Haven; Charles M. Mead, the well-known Biblical scholar; John F. Aiken, a clergyman in Pawlet, Vermont, and in Chichester, New Hampshire; Albert C. Perkins, Principal of the Phillips Exeter Academy; and John C. Proctor, Professor of Latin and Greek in Dartmouth.

the teachers, it is a question, as it seems to me, for the Board to consider still further. By a vote of the Board we are allowed to offer a salary of $800 a year for a new teacher. This sum was recently offered to one of our former scholars, who graduates the present year; but another more lucrative position was offered him, and in consequence we failed to secure him. The place was then offered to another of our former scholars, and the prospect of obtaining him is quite doubtful, on the same ground. It is becoming pretty evident that we cannot get the best class of teachers from our colleges for the salary which the Trustees propose.

In the period from 1837 to 1868 no fewer than forty-seven instructors were connected with Phillips Academy, of whom many — like John Phelps Taylor, for instance — were "theologues," who in the nature of the case could feel no very vital interest in the hour or two of instruction which they gave each day.

Meanwhile the necessity of having a larger number of teachers was repeatedly brought to the attention of the Trustees. In 1865 the assistants — James S. Eaton, Bridgman, Barrows, and Kimball — sent to the Board a signed communication in which they complained that they were teaching six and one half hours a day and that this labor was too severe. Little relief, however, was afforded them, for the Trustees, with the revenues of the institution never adequate to its expenditures, were obliged to harp continually on economy. Abner J. Phipps, one of the ablest of the assistants, sent in his resignation in 1847 because, after nine years of fidelity to the school, he was not given a "living wage." Alumni of this period speak disdainfully of the poor instruction which they received in the lower classes, as compared with the fine

training which as Seniors, they gained from Dr. Taylor. The one brilliant assistant teacher of Dr. Taylor's administration was Peter Smith Byers[1] (1827–56), who remained in Phillips Academy just two years.

The truth is that the resources and equipment of the school were not keeping pace with the rapid increase in numbers. From 1827 until 1865 Phillips Academy received no gift of any importance except the Students' Educational Fund started by the class of 1854. The only possible method of adding to the income was to raise the tuition charges. The rate, which, in 1838, had been $6 a term, was increased in 1851 to $7, in 1857 to $8, in 1864 to $10, and in 1866 to $15. Tuition in the English Department, which was fixed in 1842 on the scale of forty cents a week for "Common Branches" and fifty cents for "Higher Branches," was changed in 1857 to a flat charge of $7 for the fall term and $8 for the winter and spring terms. In 1869 the Classical and English Departments were put on an equal basis by the establishment of a fee of $15 a term for each registered student. But even this addition to the revenue was insufficient to meet the needs of an expanding institution. New buildings for recitation and dormitory purposes were

[1] Peter Smith Byers, nephew of John and Peter Smith, was born in Brechin, Scotland, and came to America at the age of nine. In the class of 1851 at Harvard he ranked third. In that year he came to Phillips Academy, but resigned in 1853 to become Principal of Abbot Academy; he soon left, however, to accept a place at Providence High School. He then returned to Andover as Principal of Punchard Free School, but died in 1856, before he had begun his new work. He was "an inquisitive and untiring scholar, and an intelligent, judicious, winning, and efficient instructor."

essential, but there was no one to provide them, and the school continued to suffer under a handicap. When the last nail was driven into the Commons dormitories, work for carpenters and masons on Andover Hill, so far as Phillips Academy was concerned, practically ceased for twenty years.

The Stone Academy had always looked as if it might stand until the last trump; but it was not proof against fire, and, on the evening of December 21, 1864, it was completely ruined by a disastrous conflagration. There was some reason at the time to suspect that the blaze had been set by an expelled student who was seeking a contemptible revenge, but the necessary evidence was never forthcoming. The Trustees promptly voted that a new Academy Hall should be erected, and at a meeting of the alumni held at Commencement in 1865 a building fund was started, which amounted finally to $21,543. While the construction was going on, recitations were held in "Old Brick." The new Main Building was dedicated on February 7, 1866, with a large gathering of graduates present, this being the first celebration of this kind ever held entirely under the auspices of Academy alumni. The programme included a long list of speeches, with the principal address by the Honorable Philip H. Sears on *Classical Studies as a Part of Academic Education.* On the following day school exercises were begun in the new building, which has been used for that purpose almost continuously ever since. Architecturally, the essential ugliness of the building was only accentuated by attempts at ornamentation. It was, however, both comfortable

and commodious, and its large assembly hall on the third floor and its recitation rooms and offices were ample at that date for the demands of the school. In its exterior it has twice been considerably remodeled, so that it is to-day rather more in harmony with the other structures on Andover Hill.

Phillips Academy was to have no other new buildings under Dr. Taylor's administration. During the summer and autumn of 1865, however, excavation was being carried on for Brechin Hall, the Library of Andover Theological Seminary, which was given by John Smith[1] (1796–1886), John Dove[2] (1799–1876), and Peter Smith[3] (1802–80), and named, at their request, after their boyhood home in Brechin, Forfarshire, Scotland. On April 22, 1864, each of these

[1] John Smith, the pioneer of his family, came to America from Scotland in 1816, and in 1822 established himself in Plymouth as a maker of cotton machinery. In 1824 he moved to Andover, where, with two partners, he built a machine shop on the Shawsheen. In 1836, with his brother Peter, and John Dove, he started a flax mill, the first in America, which proved to be highly profitable. In 1864 he helped to organize the Smith and Dove Company, of which he was President until his death. The business is still carried on by his grandson, Mr. George F. Smith. John Smith was a liberal philanthropist, both to his native town of Brechin and to Andover.

[2] John Dove, a Scotch machinist of inventive genius, was born in Brechin, May 5, 1805, and came to America in 1833. By designing and setting up machinery he was of great assistance to the Smiths in starting their flax mill, and he became a partner in the Smith and Dove Company. Like his associates he could always be relied upon to contribute to a deserving cause.

[3] Peter Smith, born in Brechin in September, 1802, was John Smith's younger brother, and followed him to America in 1822, where he prospered with him in his business. From 1870 until his death ten years later he was a Trustee of Phillips Academy, and he was also President of the Board of Trustees of Abbot Academy. In these offices he showed himself to be full of shrewd plans and practical suggestions. A memorial volume was published after his death in 1880.

BRECHIN HALL

THE DOUBLE BRICK HOUSE

gentlemen bonded himself to give $10,000, and the total amount of $30,000 was duly paid to the Trustees in 1865 in installments of $5000 each. When it was found that the cost would exceed $40,000, the same three men, on July 24, 1866, contributed an additional $30,000, in equal shares, the unexpended balance of which was used to form the "Smith and Dove Library Fund." The building was opened by the Seminary in 1866 and used for library purposes until 1908, when it was included in the property purchased by the Academy Trustees.

At the time of his formal election as Principal in 1838 Samuel H. Taylor was voted a salary of $1200; this was not increased until 1855, when it was raised to $1500. In 1864, in accordance with a complete readjustment of salaries, Taylor was to receive $2000; the Treasurer, $1800; Eaton, $1200; and the three assistants $1200, $800, and $800 respectively. In 1866 it was decided to allow Mr. Graves $1200 a year, and it was further agreed that no other new teacher should receive over $800 for his first year. Dr. Taylor's salary was eventually fixed at $2500. The Senior class during the early years of his administration made it a regular practice to present the Principal, at their graduation, with either $100 in gold or some article costing that amount. In 1860, however, the Trustees, who saw that contributions to this fund were burdensome to some poorer members of the class, passed a resolution disapproving the custom, and it was gradually abandoned. Other teachers, also, were generously remembered. When the popular Peter Smith Byers left Phillips Academy, his

class gave him three engravings and books to the value, it is stated, of $62.

The inevitable changes in the personnel of the Board of Trustees had little effect upon its policy. After the resignation of Judge Hubbard as President in 1843, the Honorable Samuel T. Armstrong, already a Trustee, was chosen to succeed him. At this date not a single member of any branch of the Phillips family remained on the Board, and only two members, Dr. Daniel Dana and 'Squire Farrar, had ever been friends of Judge Phillips. Dr. Dana in 1856 sent in an indignant letter of resignation, implying that the Board was violating the terms of its trust by allowing heretical opinions to be taught in the Seminary. 'Squire Farrar, although he resigned as Treasurer in 1840 and as Trustee in 1846, was still a quaint figure on the Andover streets. People now living can recall his odd dress and gentle spiritual expression, his hair, silvery white, hanging down over his ears, and his bent form moving slowly about the Campus, pausing now and then near a building which he had himself designed or some tree which he had planted half a century before. He died in 1864, in his ninety-second year, having outlived all the men of his generation. In his office as Treasurer he was succeeded by Samuel Fletcher[1] (1785–1858).

On March 26, 1850, Mr. Armstrong died, and the Trustees, after no small amount of persuasion, in-

[1] Samuel Fletcher, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1810, became a lawyer in Concord, New Hampshire. He was elected a Trustee of Phillips Academy in 1839, and held the position until his death, October 28, 1858. While he was Treasurer, from 1841 to 1850, he made Andover his home, but he afterwards returned to Concord, where he died.

duced Dr. Justin Edwards to accept the position of President. Dr. Edwards, however, died in 1853, and John Aiken[1] (1797–1867), a Lowell manufacturer living in Andover, was chosen in his place. Of Mr. Aiken, who was an unusually sagacious business man, John L. Taylor once spoke as follows: —

> For every important discussion in the sessions of the Board he was prepared as but few of its members could be, so that for many years no man can be said to have done so much as he towards determining its whole policy and action.

President Franklin Pierce, who was Mr. Aiken's brother-in-law, used often to be his guest in Andover, and the two distinguished men excited much attention as they walked together about the Hill. When Mr. Aiken resigned the Presidency in 1857, he was followed in office by the Honorable William J. Hubbard[2] (1802–64), of Boston. At his death in 1864 the Reverend Seth Sweetser[3] (1807–78) of Worcester, who had sat on the Board since 1850, was elected President, and held the position until 1878.

The first paid Treasurer of the Board, Mr. Daniel Noyes (1792–1852), was a retired Boston merchant, who lived only two years after his appointment in

[1] John Aiken graduated at Dartmouth in 1819, and became a lawyer at Manchester, Vermont. In 1834 he engaged in manufacturing in the city of Lowell, and moved to Andover in 1850. He was elected a Trustee of Phillips Academy in 1844, but resigned in 1863 on account of failing health. He died in Andover, February 10, 1867.

[2] William J. Hubbard, a graduate of Yale in 1820, became a lawyer in Boston, a Representative and a State Senator, and a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853.

[3] Seth Sweetser, born at Newburyport in 1807, graduated from Harvard, was ordained in 1836, and was pastor of the Central Church at Worcester from 1838 to 1874.

1850. He was succeeded by the Reverend John Lord Taylor[1] (1811–84), who was to fill in some respects the place in the community formerly held by 'Squire Farrar. As scholar, clergyman, teacher, author, and business man he made his mark successively in several different fields, always leaving the impression that he could not fail in anything which he seriously undertook.

When John L. Taylor resigned in 1868 in order to become President of the Seminary, his position was taken by Edward Taylor[2] (1817–93), who was Treasurer for twenty-one years, until 1889. From 1852 until 1871 Phillips Academy was administered by Taylors, for Dr. Samuel H. Taylor, working first with John L. Taylor and afterwards with Edward Taylor, certainly controlled the school.

Several of the Trustees elected under Dr. Samuel

[1] John Lord Taylor was born at Warren, Connecticut, and graduated at Yale in 1835. After his ordination in 1839, he came directly to Andover as pastor of the Old South Church, where he served until his resignation in 1852. From 1868 until 1877 he was President of the Seminary Faculty, and from 1873 until 1880 he was at the head of the Andover National Bank. He died September 24, 1884. Dr. Taylor made many generous gifts to the Academy and the Seminary. He was the author of the delightful *Memoir of Judge Phillips* (1854) of which so much use has been made in this volume. It is distinguished not only by accurate knowledge and painstaking research, but by a felicitous style.

[2] Edward Taylor was born in Huntington, Massachusetts, and was educated at Lenox and Westfield Academies. After 1839 he was connected with the Marland Manufacturing Company in Andover, but resigned in 1869 to become Treasurer of the Trustees. From 1880 to 1890 he was President of the Andover National Bank. He was a Trustee of Abbot Academy and of Punchard Free School, Town Clerk and Town Treasurer, Representative in the Legislature and Deacon of the Old South Church. When he died, May 21, 1893, Dr. Bancroft wrote "His Christian principles and consistent conduct and character made him a power in the community and a blessing to the world."

H. Taylor were men of ability, among them being William Augustus Stearns (1805–78), President of Amherst College; Alpheus Hardy (1815–87), later a President of the Board; and Dr. Daniel T. Fiske (1819–1903), also a President, following Mr. Hardy. Speaking generally, however, they formed a weaker body than the group of men who had been accustomed to meet with Judge Phillips in the Mansion House fifty and sixty years before. As the Academy grew larger and more complex in its organization, the intimate relations between it and individual Trustees were no longer so noticeable. The members of the Board, engrossed with the weighty problems connected with Andover Theological Seminary, paid little attention to Phillips Academy; they no longer condescended to interfere, as in the old days, in petty disciplinary matters; and they came, probably almost unconsciously, to regard their meetings as mainly for the purpose of ratifying the decrees of the Principal. Gradually Dr. Taylor seized the control in his own strong hands; he alone, except in real crises, determined the nature of the curriculum, settled cases of insubordination or poor scholarship, and engaged his own assistants. He always, however, submitted his decisions to Andover members of the Board, like 'Squire Farrar, Dr. Edwards, John L. Taylor, or John Aiken, who formed a kind of "cabinet" and who seldom questioned his judgment. The Trustees, for their part, were properly satisfied to be relieved of much trivial detail which, in an earlier generation, had occupied altogether too much of their time.

The Andover of Dr. Taylor's time was a New Eng-

land Athens, a genuine center of intellectual and spiritual life. It was the golden age of the Theological Seminary, when great preachers walked the streets and when the Draper press teemed with volume after volume from the pens of professors and their talented wives and daughters. In the south study of the President's House, where so many famous persons had deliberated on Monday evenings in the days of Dr. Porter, Professor Austin Phelps (1820–90) was preparing sermons so brilliant that they stirred even a congregation already surfeited with pulpit eloquence, and writing his well-known *Still Hour* and other religious books so popular in the "fifties."

On Andover Hill Professor Phelps's gifted daughter, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (1844–1908), conceived the plan of *The Gates Ajar* (1869), which gave her reputation almost in a day. In the little white summer house in the rear of her father's home, or in the sunny rooms of the Chandler farmhouse next door, she used to sit at her table writing a long series of novels and stories, many of which, like *A Singular Life* and *Walled In*, are redolent of the theological atmosphere in the aroma of which she grew to womanhood. One of her later books, *Chapters from a Life*, is filled with interesting personal reminiscences of her years in Andover.

When Dr. Taylor took office, and for some years afterward, the most noble figure on the Hill was Professor Stuart, "the father of Hebrew literature in America" (and also the father of two of Professor Phelps's wives), who, full even then of inexhaustible energy, was recognized from afar by his Indian lope, as he moved as if shot from a gun over the old plank

walk on the way to Bartlet Chapel. Oliver Wendell Holmes once described him: —

> Tall, lean, with strong, bold features, a keen, scholarly, accipitrine nose, thin, expressive lips, great solemnity and impressiveness of voice and manner, he was my early model of a classic orator. His air was Roman, his neck long and bare like Cicero's, and his toga — that is, his broadcloth cloak — was carried on his arm, whatever might have been the weather, with such a statue-like, rigid grace that he might have been turned into marble where he stood, and looked noble by the side of the antiques in the Vatican.

Whether in setting Hebrew type, in composing formidable tracts in obscure Oriental tongues, or in making hay in his stony meadow, he was an unquenchable enthusiast. Once, when several of his pupils were assisting him in the hayfield behind his house and the crop was of even worse than the customary poor quality, he broke out: —

> Bah! Was there ever climate and soil like this! Manure the land as much as you will, it all leaches through this gravel, and very soon not a trace of it can be seen. If you plant early, everything is liable to be cut off by the late frosts of spring. If you plant late, your crop is destroyed by the early frosts of autumn. If you escape these, the burning sun of summer scorches your crop, and it perishes by heat and drought. If none of these evils overtake you, clouds of insects eat up your crop, and what the caterpillar leaves, the cankerworm devours.

To his awed listeners he seemed like a modern Jeremiah, lamenting the woes of his harassed generation.

In the year that Professor Stuart died there came to Andover Professor Calvin E. Stowe (1802–86) and

his wife, Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–96), who had just published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. They soon were settled in the "stone shell of a building" on Chapel Avenue, which was at this time remodeled as a residence in conformity with suggestions outlined by Mrs. Stowe. There, in the attractive study on the ground floor, which was always filled with flowers, she composed many of her books, including the one entitled *Dred*. The Stowes, with a hospitality quite strange to staid Andoverians, shocked the townspeople with the amusements which they provided for their guests: tableaux, charades, and even, on one memorable occasion, a Christmas tree. Up to this date the "levee," or reception, had been the most daring of Andover's social recreations. Mrs. Stowe, "as thin and dry as a pinch of snuff," was often seen on the Seminary Campus, attended by her two favorite dogs. There was a vague suspicion that she sometimes visited the theater in Boston, and it was even hinted by some of those who disliked her that she had Episcopalian leanings. Her twin daughters, named, one after herself, the other after her husband's first wife, resembled each other so much that they were distinguished by red and blue ribbons, and when these were once shifted by a mischievous practical joker, the mother herself was at a loss to know which was which. In 1864 the Stowes moved to Hartford, Connecticut, where Mrs. Stowe, after her husband's death, continued to live until her death in 1896; but her body, at her own request, was brought back to Andover and buried in the beautiful cemetery near the house on the hill which she had learned to love so well.

Only one man was qualified to fill the position in the Andover community occupied by Professor Stuart, — Edwards Amasa Park[1] (1808–1900), professor in the Seminary from 1836 until 1881. In the retrospect Professor Park seems to those who knew him to have been far greater than anything he ever did. His sermons — especially some five or six, like those on Judas and Peter, of extraordinary power — were the talk of his contemporaries, and were frequently repeated in response to a general request. He was a delightful occasional speaker, as well as an impressive lecturer and orator. In his younger days he was assailed as a radical in theology; in his old age he was reproached with being unprogressive and reactionary. No one is likely to forget Mrs. Ward's picture of Professor Park, teaching schoolgirls his theological doctrines, — "An infinite wrong against an Infinite Being deserves an infinite punishment." Despite much harsh and often unintelligent criticism he remained fast to his faith at both periods and seemed indifferent to attack. Professor Park and Dr. Taylor were associated for many years in the editorship of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Dr. Taylor regularly corrected the proof-sheets and on rare occasions contributed an article, but Professor Park retained the editorial responsibility in his own hands. Professor

[1] Edwards Amasa Park was born in Providence, Rhode Island, December 29, 1808, graduated from Brown University in 1826, and was ordained in 1831. In 1836, after a short service as professor at Amherst, he was called to Andover. From 1844 to 1884 he was editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. He was a Trustee of Abbot Academy and of Smith College, and a Fellow of Brown University. He received honorary degrees from Harvard and Brown. After 1881 Professor Park continued to live quietly in his home on Main Street. He died June 4, 1900.

Park had a striking personality which made him an object of veneration, and which led passers-by to look at him with awe as he paced, an hour at a time, up and down the path from his house to the street, his brow apparently knit in profound thought.

Another delightful person was John W. Churchill[1] (1839–1900), who, while he was a student in the Theological Seminary in 1866, was made Instructor in Elocution in Phillips Academy, and retained that position for thirty-four years. He succeeded in making public speaking one of the most interesting features of the curriculum. Most of Professor Churchill's work was, of course, accomplished under Dr. Bancroft, but he brought his first contagious enthusiasm to the last years of Dr. Taylor's administration. He had hardly taken his place as teacher before he persuaded Warren F. Draper[2] (1818–1905), of Andover,

[1] John Wesley Churchill was born in Fairlee, Vermont. At the age of seventeen he became a civil engineer in Ohio, but returned to the East, finished his course at Phillips Academy in 1861, graduated from Harvard in 1865 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1868, and then settled down for his long and inspiring career in Andover.

[2] Warren Fales Draper was born at East Dedham, Massachusetts, fitted for college at Phillips Academy (class of 1843), graduated at Amherst in 1847, and started work at Andover Theological Seminary. Failing eyesight, however, compelled him to abandon his studies, and in 1849 he entered the employ of Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell, printers in Andover. In 1854 he became sole proprietor of the establishment, which he conducted until 1887, publishing more than six hundred volumes, some of which had a very large sale. He accumulated through enterprise and thrift a considerable fortune which he dispensed in charities, his total donations to Andover institutions amounting to over $100,000. He was most generous to Abbot Academy; but he also gave, in addition to the prize fund, a scholarship, a cottage (the Draper), and other contributions to Phillips Academy. He was a notable example, as it has been fittingly said, "of the old New England type of a Christian business man."

to give forty dollars for the Draper prizes in declamation. Mr. Draper, it is said, was first led to acquiesce in Professor Churchill's suggestion by hearing a poorly delivered sermon, at the close of which he resolved that he would do his best to eradicate inarticulate enunciation and halting delivery in the younger generation. These prizes, maintained by Mr. Draper for many years and still supported by a fund given by him to the Trustees, have been of incalculable value in stimulating boys to become good speakers. When the excellent results obtained by the training for the Draper contest had become apparent, Mr. William G. Means[1] (1815–94), of Andover, presented forty dollars to be awarded for excellence in "original declamation." These prizes, usually three in number, were eventually made permanent by a clause in Mr. Means's will. In drilling boys for these competitions Professor Churchill had ample opportunity to display his extraordinary ability as an instructor, and the contests which resulted were memorable events in the academic year. Every detail in delivery was carefully attended to. "Trifles make perfection, but perfection is no trifle," he used to say to his students, and they soon learned the lesson. He won a reputation which extended beyond New England, and which led Matthew Arnold, when he came to America, to seek Professor Churchill's aid in teaching him how properly to use his voice in

[1] William Gordon Means, born in Amherst, New Hampshire, devoted himself to business, became a manufacturer and eventually Treasurer of the Manchester Locomotive Works, and, after retiring, settled for a time in Andover. He died, January 4, 1894, in Boston, and was buried in the South Church Cemetery in Andover.

reading and lecturing. Professor Churchill was a witty and tactful presiding officer, without whose presence no anniversary or dinner in the vicinity was ever complete. But, more than all else, he was a friend, deeply and widely beloved.

While men like Professor Park and Professor Churchill were alive, Andover Hill was likely to be well known. They, like Dr. Samuel H. Taylor, were personages whom even careless boys could hardly help remembering in after days. Young men at Phillips Academy could not escape being touched in part by the spirit of these preceptors who knew "the joy of elevated thoughts." Boys learned on Andover Hill something besides their formal schooling; they came, no matter how slightly, in contact with men of power, with ideas and ideals that were well worth while.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INTERREGNUM: FREDERIC W. TILTON

Not in rewards, but in the strength to strive,
The blessing lies.

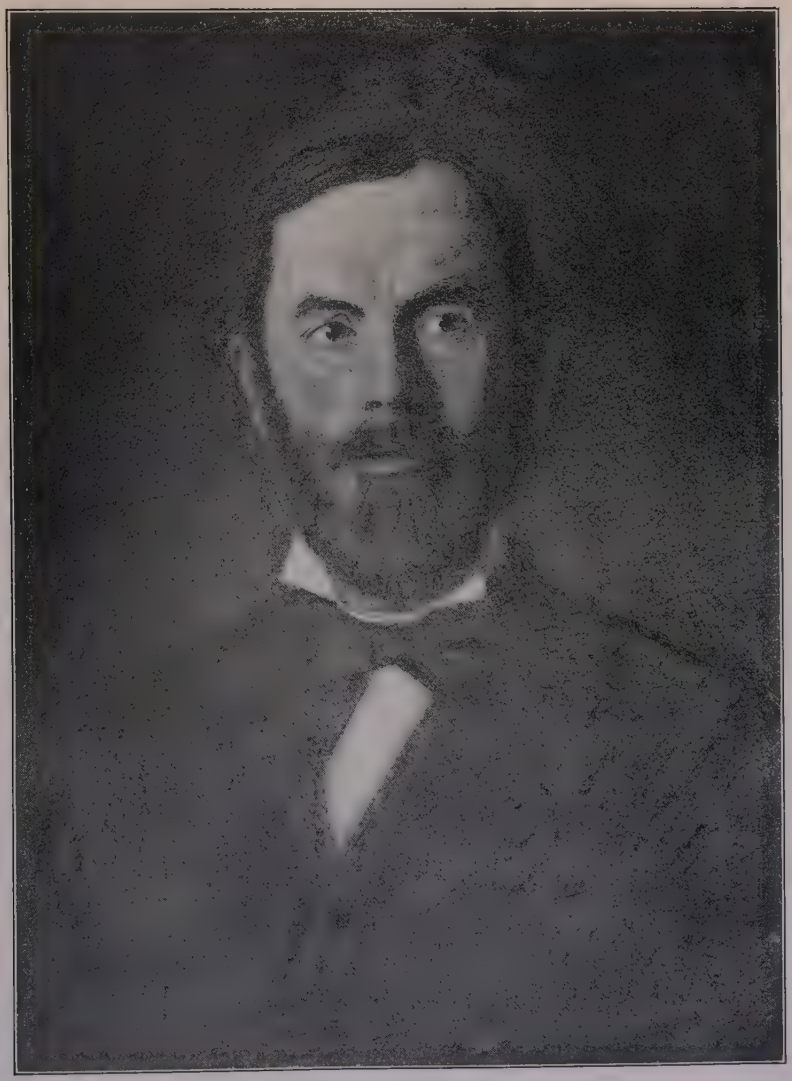
Whoever followed Samuel H. Taylor as Principal was bound to have no easy time of it. His system was so deeply rooted, his rules had been so inflexible, and he had so succeeded in impressing them upon the boys that, while reconstruction was inevitable, it could hardly fail to result in temporary disorganization. Nevertheless, the attempt had to be made. The hour was near which was to decide whether the New England Academy had the vitality to survive amid new conditions, whether in a period of rapid and significant changes it still had a function to perform. The curriculum, as we have seen, was in sad need of revision; the Faculty had to be strengthened; and Phillips Academy had to be placed on a parity with other institutions of similar aim and character. These problems, and others no less serious, awaited the man venturesome enough to assume the toga dropped by "Uncle Sam."

During the uncertain weeks following Dr. Taylor's funeral William G. Goldsmith, the Peabody Instructor, took matters in charge and showed himself to be a competent administrator. In March a committee of the Trustees made an offer to Frederic W. Tilton, of Newport, Rhode Island, but it was declined; then the committee, not satisfied, induced Mr. Tilton to

come to Cambridge for a conference. Mr. Tilton, who could even at a distance read the handwriting on the wall, was by no means eager to accept the opportunity and insisted that "the Trustees should first approve of his views in regard to the administration of the Academy." This they did with unexpected alacrity, and on June 19 the preliminaries were settled. Mr. Tilton was to have a salary of $2500 a year and suitable quarters for himself and family. During the summer he took up his residence in the north side of the Double Brick House, Mrs. Taylor retaining the south apartment.

The extent of the proposed reorganization was apparent from the fact that Mr. Tilton was a graduate of Harvard, the college which Dr. Taylor so distrusted. Frederic William Tilton was born May 14, 1839, in Cambridge, the son of Benjamin and Lucinda (Newell) Tilton. After completing his course at Harvard with high honors in 1862, he studied for several months in the University of Göttingen. In 1863 he went to the Highland Military Academy at Worcester as Instructor in Latin, and there remained three years. He married in 1864 Ellen Trowbridge, sister of Professor John Trowbridge, of Harvard. He moved to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1867, as Superintendent of Public Schools.

Mr. Tilton was certainly a trained teacher and administrator. As he himself realized, however, he was not familiar with schools like Phillips Academy, the peculiar problems of which had been outside his province. He wisely endeavored to correct his ignorance by seeking advice from those well acquainted with



FREDERIC WILLIAM TILTON

conditions at Andover, and to this end consulted several Trustees and townspeople, as well as the two remaining members of the Faculty, George H. Taylor and William W. Eaton. George H. Taylor retained his position. William W. Eaton[1] (1846–1905) also remained in the Academy through Mr. Tilton's administration.

Acting partly on President Eliot's advice, Mr. Tilton urged the Trustees to readjust studies so that Phillips Academy would be able to meet the entrance requirements, not only of Harvard, but also of other reputable colleges. The first indication of the new régime is found in a statement of the catalogue for 1872: —

> It is confidently expected that from the opening of the Fall term of 1872, instruction will be given in Modern Languages. Such instruction will be open to those members of the Middle and Senior Classes who desire it. There will be an extra charge, not exceeding five dollars per term, for each language.

Professor Oscar Faulhaber, who had been conducting a small private school in the old Marland House, was accordingly engaged as a teacher of French and German. This step is interesting as showing the reaction against Dr. Taylor's system. It was for innovations such as this that he had had the strongest distaste, fearing that they would have an injurious effect upon classical study.

Mr. Tilton's two years were really too short for the

[1] William W. Eaton, a graduate of Amherst in 1868, taught at Phillips Academy 1871–73. He later studied in Göttingen and Leipzig, and was an instructor in the Seminary, 1877–79. From 1882 until his death he was a professor in Middlebury College.

accomplishment of lasting reforms; they constituted, in fact, a time of transition, when Phillips Academy, lying fallow, was preparing for renewed fertility. Evidently the loss of Dr. Taylor caused no diminution of confidence in the school, for the attendance increased from 228 in 1871 to 241 in 1872 and 252 in 1873. Nor did the scholarship of the students suffer. Mr. Tilton soon discovered, as James S. Eaton had pointed out in 1865, that mathematical subjects in the school were being wretchedly taught. This deficiency he promptly remedied by taking charge of the algebra and geometry divisions himself, and laboring to elevate the standard. Even the preparation in the classics was not adapted to meet the entrance requirements of any Eastern college except Yale. When Mr. Tilton arrived, the Greek class, supposed to be ready for college, had read only part of one book of the *Anabasis*, Dr. Taylor having relied on the well-known willingness of the Yale authorities to accept without examination men bearing his recommendation. This class Mr. Eaton and Mr. Tilton succeeded in preparing in one year, after using a large number of extra hours. Under Dr. Taylor boys who wished to enter college had been practically forced to choose Yale. Mr. Tilton publicly expressed his disapproval of this policy by announcing in chapel that his aim would be to qualify Phillips boys for any higher institution. The immediate result appeared at the close of Mr. Tilton's first year, when seventeen of the graduating class went to Harvard, a larger number than in any one year since the days of John Adams. Every other pupil, moreover, who desired to enter college

from Andover was admitted without difficulty. Dr. Taylor at his best could have done no better.

Under Dr. Taylor the Faculty had possessed comparatively little power. Their advice was seldom asked for; every case of discipline, every problem of classroom management, was handled by the Principal. It is to Mr. Tilton's credit that he established weekly Faculty meetings, at which offenses were reported and difficulties discussed. The office of Secretary of the Faculty was created, and filled on April 25, 1873, by F. E. Thompson. Phillips Academy was on the road to becoming something more than a "one man school." For the first time in Academy history reports of each boy's standing were sent at intervals to his parents, and a list of high scholars was read at the end of each term before the student body.

The boys' Sunday, as Mr. Tilton found it, was decidedly depressing. Two church services were held, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon, at each of which long sermons were preached by clergymen, usually Seminary professors, who often had little success in interesting the younger section of the congregation. The new Principal excused the pupils from the afternoon sermon, and in its place held a brief vesper service for Academy boys only, at which some distinguished man, not necessarily a minister, gave a short talk. This sensible innovation was immensely popular with both teachers and undergraduates.

With the discipline Mr. Tilton met some formidable obstacles. His hand was not so heavy as that of his predecessor, and he could not reconcile himself to the use of the somewhat brutal methods traditional

in the school. Often he was out all night, simply because he feared some lawless outbreak. Attempts were made to continue the practice of publishing "Mock Programmes," at Commencement, and the Middlers in 1872 printed a paper called *The Pony Phaëton*, — a scurrilous performance in which the Seniors were assailed and Tilton was ridiculed. Fortunately the editors were soon discovered, and several of them, including the son of a prominent statesman, were expelled. This drastic action doubtless aided the Middlers at the close of the following year in stating publicly: "The time has arrived to abolish the custom of Mock Programmes, and as a class we have taken the initiatory steps to that end." A few turbulent spirits even at that Commencement did actually produce a "Mock Programme," but the better element in the class quickly suppressed it. The copies which had already appeared were burned on a hot June day in a stove in the Farrar House, and the Exhibition was carried on undisturbed.

On one occasion Mr. Tilton was clever enough to outwit the boys. Having been warned in advance of one annual school custom, he asked Deacon Chandler, the Seminary sexton of the Chapel, to have an extra bell-clapper made and kept ready for emergencies. When, on a cold Saturday night in December, the clapper suddenly disappeared, Deacon Chandler, as soon as he discovered the loss, merely used the newly made tongue. The crafty culprits, who had expected to escape the church service because of the failure of the bell to ring, were chagrined to hear it pealing out as usual. A few of the older inhabitants,

noticing a peculiar tone to the ring, suspected that the bell had been affected by the intense cold.

Mr. Tilton soon recognized that, for a man of his temperament, the responsibility and strain were likely to prove injurious. With practically every minute of his time occupied in teaching and administration, he had no opportunity for recreation or reading. Mrs. Tilton also found that her husband's cares were reacting on her own health. Mainly for these reasons he resigned on March 17, 1873. Mr. Tilton left Andover in June, and went at once to Newport, Rhode Island, as Head Master of the newly founded Rogers High School in that city. About 1890 he retired from teaching and settled in Cambridge, where he resides to-day.

Mr. Tilton will be remembered as the leader who bridged over the gulf between the Phillips Academy of Dr. Taylor and the more modern school of Dr. Bancroft. In his efforts at reform he was undoubtedly vigorous and wise. Something, too, he did accomplish in introducing more efficient methods of instruction and government, and had he been able to carry out his plans, his career at Andover would probably have been distinguished. As it was, he did much to make the way easier for Dr. Bancroft.

It is not difficult to understand, then, how an alumnus who studied under both Dr. Taylor and Mr. Tilton could say: —

> It seemed to me that the Tilton régime was a disorganized affair, a sort of transition period after the iron discipline of Dr. Taylor, and that the Academy did not get into good working order again until later on with Bancroft.

But we may well quote also the words of Charles Moore, of the class of 1874, at the Centennial in 1878, when he presented to Phillips Academy a portrait of Mr. Tilton, painted by Stone: —

> So short a time has passed since he went from among you that it needs no words of mine to call up the remembrance of a man whose dignity, scholarship, and ability to teach have placed him in the front rank of New England's educators.

CHAPTER XVII

CECIL F. P. BANCROFT: THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION AND REFORM

> Born for success he seemed
> With grace to win, with heart to hold,
> With shining gifts that took all eyes.

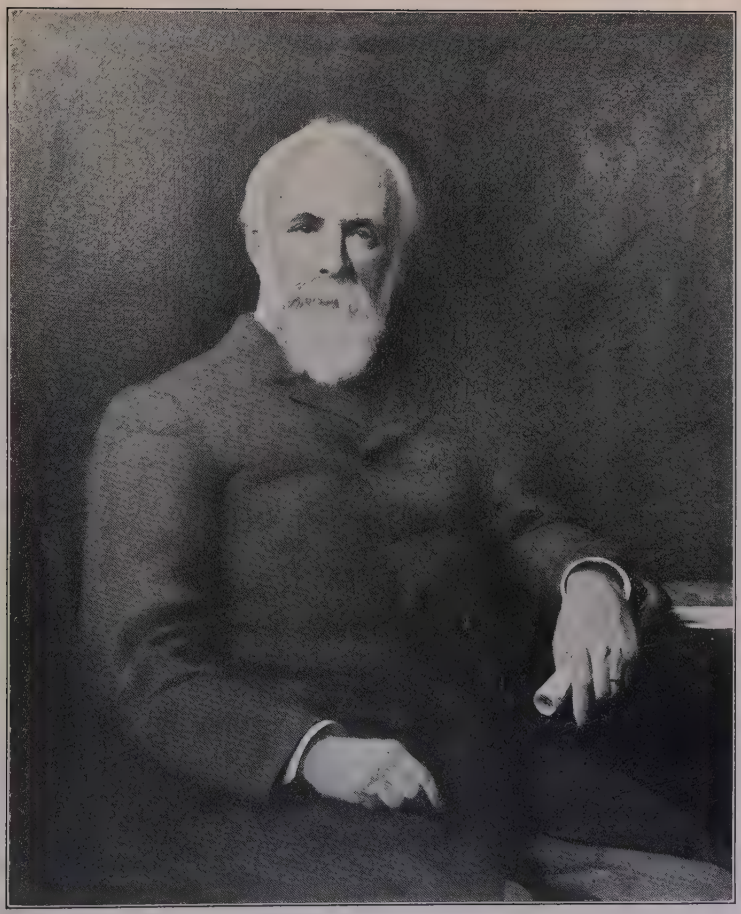
On the very day when Tilton's note of resignation was read and accepted by the Trustees, they were able to agree upon his successor. Several of the members were acquainted with Cecil F. P. Bancroft, a young Dartmouth graduate, who for some months in 1867 had taught Latin in Phillips Academy and who, in 1873, was in Germany pursuing university work towards a degree. After a brief consideration of his qualifications the Trustees sent him a cable message to Halle, Germany, offering him the principalship, with a salary of $2500 a year and a house. In a reply dated April 10 Mr. Bancroft said in closing: —

> If no better man in the meantime willing to accept the position is found, and the Trustees still desire it, I will do the best I can. I wish the Trustees to recall the appointment, without the least hesitation as regards me personally, if the interests of the institution can thereby be promoted. . . . Till I hear from you again I shall regard our engagement as binding upon me, but not binding upon you.

Upon receipt of a prompt answer from Dr. Sweetser, and also of some urgent letters from intimate friends acquainted with the situation at Andover, Mr. Ban-

croft on May 17 cabled his acceptance. In response to Dr. Sweetser's inquiries he gave his opinion that George H. Taylor ought to be retained as a teacher,— "because of his thorough acquaintance with the best instruction and discipline of Andover"; and he also expressed the wish that, if a new instructor in modern languages were appointed, he should not be a foreigner, but "should be a man in every religious and social respect, as well as in scholarship, capable of taking and holding, before the pupils and among the teachers, a position quite equal to that of the best among us, redeeming the department — as Professor Churchill has that of elocution in the Seminary — from the vagabond character it so often wears." Otherwise he made no stipulations or requests, but hastened to America to take up the work which was to prove the splendid opportunity of his life.

Cecil Bancroft was born November 25, 1839, in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, of plain and substantial country people, his parents being Deacon James Bancroft and Sarah (Kendall) Bancroft. At an early age he was practically, although not legally, adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Patch, of the neighboring town of Ashby, from whom he received the additional names of their own son who had recently died; thus the boy was known as Cecil Franklin Patch Bancroft, and acquired the three initials to which he so often jokingly referred. Partly through the generosity of the Patches, he attended the common schools of Ashby, and later the Appleton Academy at New Ipswich. He entered Dartmouth College in 1856, where, in spite of the fact that he taught at Groton



CECIL FRANKLIN PATCH BANCROFT

during the winter terms, he made an excellent scholastic record, graduating in 1860 fourth in his class of sixty-five members. For the four years ensuing he was Principal of Appleton Academy[1] at Mont Vernon, New Hampshire, where one of his pupils was Miss Frances A. Kittredge, whom he afterwards married. For one year, 1864–65, he took courses at Union Theological Seminary in New York, — incidentally getting some war experience in the course of a few months spent with the Christian Commission at the front, — but then removed to Andover Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1867. At this time he was recommended by Dr. Taylor as the ideal man to manage a "loyal, Christian New England school" for Southern whites recently established by C. G. Robert, of New York (later the founder of Robert College, Constantinople), at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee. Ordained at Mont Vernon May 1, 1867, Mr. Bancroft was married there five days later, and started at once with his bride for the South. At Lookout Mountain, despite the depressing difficulties and insults which a Northerner, in such an environment and engaged in such an enterprise, could not escape, Mr. Bancroft, through his tact and optimism, won popularity and gained a reputation which became known to his friends in New England. The school, which proved to be an expensive charity for the founder, had to be abandoned in 1872, and Mr. Bancroft, temporarily without a position, resolved to improve the year by foreign travel. Thus it was that the call to Phillips Academy found

[1] This school is now McCullom Institute.

him three thousand miles or more away. On July 31, 1873, he arrived on Andover Hill, where he took possession of the apartments in "Double Brick" and began laying plans for the future.

The time has come, nearly twenty years after his death, when the twenty-eight years of Dr. Bancroft's administration can be weighed in the balance and judged upon their merits. The excessive praise often bestowed upon Dr. Taylor has frequently been accompanied by disparagement and neglect of Dr. Bancroft; and yet, if we are to estimate by results, if we are to compare the development of the school under the two great Principals, Dr. Bancroft's glory will not be dimmed. Men of a different type they were, as everybody knows. Dr. Bancroft, although he might, had he been able to remain within the classroom, have become as stimulating a teacher as his predecessor, was obliged to leave the business of instruction mainly in the hands of his competent Faculty, and he wisely directed his own energies to points where his efforts were sadly needed. Few people, in these prosperous days, realize the trying circumstances which Dr. Bancroft had to face. In 1876 he wrote, almost in despair: —

> The Academy is in a place where two seas meet, and needs as never perhaps before in its history the wisdom, the efforts, and the prayers of its Trustees. . . . It is a question, not of the life or death of the school, but of its being of a first- or of a second-class grade.

He stated at this date that there were at least six preparatory schools in New England with a finer equipment than Phillips Academy. The Trustees

were constantly running behind financially, so that in 1874, for the first and last time in its history, the authorities spent a small sum on advertising in the magazines. Furthermore, the reputation of the Academy in scholarship was getting perceptibly lower, and for some years altogether too large a number of boys failed in their examinations for college. It was essential that the school should regain the confidence of the public at large and in particular of the colleges to which it regularly sent students.

There has rarely been a case in educational history where a man has been so marvelously adapted to his position as Dr. Bancroft was to meet the problems confronting him. If "Intensity and Conservatism" were Dr. Taylor's watchwords, "Breadth and Progressiveness" were Dr. Bancroft's. The extent of his actual achievement may be briefly summarized: he found his school with two hundred and thirty-seven students, and left it with a record of an average attendance of considerably over four hundred for a period of more than ten years; he increased the size of the Faculty from eight men to twenty-two, and gathered around him a body of loyal and efficient teachers; he added largely to the endowment and was, through his personal efforts, responsible for securing several new buildings and bettering the equipment; he liberalized the curriculum without lowering the grade of instruction; and when he died, Phillips Academy, mainly through his influence, was a more virile and substantial institution than it had ever been before. All this he accomplished quietly, without drawing attention to his part in the transformation.

His was a mind which, as Emerson says, —

> Labors and endures and waits
> Till all that it foresees, it finds,
> Or what it cannot find, creates.

It must be added, also, that he was always, even when severely tried, a courteous gentleman; that he governed firmly, but with justice and with comprehension of boy motives and temptations; and that under him young men met with fair play without losing the benefits which are bound to result from strict discipline wisely administered.

It is a mistake to imagine that Dr. Bancroft devoted himself entirely to the material development of Phillips Academy. At the first alumni dinner, held in Boston, March 24, 1886, he outlined his conception of the function of an ideal school: —

> It has a definite and noble educational sphere: — to train men, not to meet examinations, but for the career of after life, through years which are the years in which character sets, so that when they go to college, they shall have their character, and not be left to form it there.

To the fulfillment of this aspiration he subordinated every other aim. Like all the great Principals he was occupied largely with moral issues. The growing plant, the new dormitories, the increased prosperity were all desirable only in so far as they contributed to intellectual and religious ends. Here again, however, Dr. Bancroft was more tolerant, more liberal than his predecessors, for he could see virtues in other sects than Calvinists and Congregationalists, and he was far from feeling sure that "conversion" was essential to sound character. He sought simply to turn boys

into clean-minded, healthy men, and he was not inclined to worry if they showed no tendency to link themselves with any particular creed or church.

The most insistent problem confronting the new Principal was one towards the solution of which Mr. Tilton had already made some progress; the problem, as Dr. Bancroft expressed it, of "bringing the Academy into perfect harmony and working coöperation with the various colleges and scientific schools and holding it there." The initial step was taken by a vote of the Trustees, May 20, 1874: —

> Voted, that the Faculty prepare a four years' course of study, submit it by letter to each of the Trustees, revise it in view of their suggestions, and submit the same at the annual meeting.

In the catalogue for 1875 the traditional division into three classes was replaced by a four-year course, the additional class being called "Preparatory." Meanwhile Dr. Bancroft had devised a curriculum and had submitted it, not only to individual Trustees, but also to many college heads, including President Porter of Yale, President Robinson of Brown, President Stearns of Amherst, and President Eliot of Harvard. With President Eliot the Principal discussed the matter fully, and the two men came to a general agreement. The resulting carefully drawn plan was approved almost in its entirety, and the four-year course was thus permanently established.

Under Dr. Taylor, and to some extent under Mr. Tilton, examinations had been oral, much to the dismay of timid and inarticulate pupils. In 1874

Dr. Bancroft abolished formal oral tests, and inserted a paragraph in the catalogue: —

> Examinations conducted in writing are held monthly; and, at the end of the first and second terms, on the studies of the term; and, at the close of the year, with reference to promotion and graduation.

This change was undoubtedly hastened by the emphasis laid by colleges on written entrance examinations; but it also appealed to Dr. Bancroft as being far kinder and less terrifying to the boy. Furthermore, certain stipulated requirements for admission to Phillips Academy were instituted, and to these applicants were strictly held. This system was far more just to the student and far more beneficial to the school than the earlier method by which a candidate's fitness for admission was determined solely through a personal examination conducted in the Principal's office.

The next two decades saw a series of changes in the curriculum so striking that they completely transformed the course of study. Some of these were practically forced upon the Academy by a shifting of the emphasis in college entrance requirements; others were brought about through the shrewdness and foresight of Dr. Bancroft, who, as a wise opportunist, was on the lookout to anticipate the drift of public opinion. He said in 1883 at Exeter: —

> No school can permanently prosper which does not keep in view at every point the genius of the time, the requirements of the age in which it labors.

From the opening of his administration he had in

mind a consistent policy to which, in general, he adhered, although he never insisted upon theories when he saw that there was no possibility of their acceptance. He was a builder, an originator, with a power of vision almost prophetic; but he also knew when it was useless to press a point, and he was willing to be patient for the sake of ultimately gaining his end.

One of the first anomalies to disappear was the arrangement by which the English Department was managed by a separate head, who made a special report of his own to the Trustees. When LaRoy Freese Griffin[1] (1844–1916) resigned in 1875 as Head of the English Department, his successor, George C. Merrill[2] (1845–82), was, at Dr. Bancroft's request, engaged with the understanding that he was to be merely Peabody Instructor. In this year also the Exhibitions of the two departments were consolidated. When, in 1884, the English course was lengthened to four years, it became possible to prepare boys for the higher scientific institutions, such as the recently founded Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and for the scientific courses in other older colleges. Before this time only an occasional student had gone to

[1] LaRoy F. Griffin graduated at the Phillips Exeter Academy and Brown University, and came to Phillips Academy in 1871 as Peabody Instructor. After leaving the Academy in 1875, he taught successfully in several other schools, but was ordained in 1884 and became a Baptist minister, located first at North Easton and then at Westwood.

[2] George Cooke Merrill graduated from Amherst College in 1865 and came at once to Phillips Academy, where he remained until 1869. In 1875 he returned as Peabody Instructor. After five years of earnest work he was attacked by tuberculosis, and steadily declined in health until his death, April 19, 1882. His funeral was very impressive. Mr. Merrill was an able instructor, and exceedingly popular among his students and colleagues.

college from the English Department; after 1884, however, the number steadily increased until this department became as truly preparatory for college as the classical side itself. The trend of events was indicated in 1885 when the students voluntarily decided to give the Presidency of the Senior class during the winter term to a member of the English Department.

In the following years many of the comparatively useless subjects, survivals of a bygone age, were gradually dropped without comment from the curriculum of the English Department, until by 1893 it had been so simplified and transformed as no longer to resemble 'Squire Farrar's original design. The title "English Department," indeed, was now felt to be inaccurate, as well as a source of confusion with the newly organized "Department of English." A more satisfactory name, "Scientific Department," was accordingly given to it by official vote; thus the union, theoretically but not actually completed in 1842, was finally, over half a century later, really consummated. Since 1894 the two courses have been growing more and more alike, until to-day the distinctions between them are merely nominal.

In 1894 Dr. Bancroft succeeded in securing a completely systematized course of study, with a specified number of hours a week for each subject. When this had been accomplished, he could boast of having at last brought Phillips Academy into harmony with American educational institutions.

With this revision of the curriculum came another reform of great importance in school development. The Faculty became a body with some power and

responsibility of its own. In Phillips Academy, as in many similar institutions, the Faculty has no legal authority, and no official voice in administration, except in so far as the Principal chooses to invite the coöperation of his colleagues. This, it will be remembered, Dr. Taylor had preferred not to do. Dr. Bancroft changed Phillips Academy from an autocracy to an oligarchy. Mr. Tilton had originated the Faculty meeting; Dr. Bancroft made it an important gathering, the opinions of which he respected, and, except in unusual situations, followed implicitly. The Faculty were regarded by him as acting, not only in an advisory, but also in an administrative, capacity.

The success of this policy was largely contingent upon the possibility of inducing teachers to accept permanent positions. From 1870 to 1875 every place on the Faculty of Phillips Academy had been twice vacant and twice filled. Dr. Taylor, as we have seen, had grumbled intermittently over the fact that his assistants were mere birds of passage; so Dr. Bancroft for a few years had constantly on his mind the "unsettled condition of the Faculty," which, he said, "has been so often disturbed since Dr. Taylor's death that no coherency has been possible." In his first annual report he added: —

> Doing the advanced work now demanded renders it more important than ever that we have able and permanent teachers. . . . At first the disipline was administered in the name of the Principal, and by him, but recently the Faculty as a body have voted and executed penalties. The latter course became practicable as the younger members of the corps became accustomed to their work.

It was the Principal's aim to engage as instructors men of promise who could be counted upon to remain if they were given reasonable salaries and allowed a sufficient degree of independence. This policy soon met with success little short of extraordinary. After Dr. Bancroft took office in 1873, teachers began to show a tendency to remain on Andover Hill. The Faculty no longer consisted mainly of men eager to escape at the first available opportunity to other schools, if not to more lucrative professions; many teachers, indeed, when presented with a choice, deliberately preferred to stay at Phillips Academy rather than to take up college work. The Principal was delighted when, in 1877, he could report that there was "no new element in the Faculty."

With a stable and continuous teaching force a uniform, progressive policy over a series of years was made possible. Upon the happy results of this improved situation Dr. Bancroft was never tired of expatiating. In 1885, when three of his best teachers had declined attractive offers by other institutions, he wrote: —

> The betterment in the condition and prospects of the Academy is largely due to the permanent able teachers who have won recognition by their work so many years with us.

In 1887 he reiterated his opinion: —

> I think the external prosperity of the Academy is due largely to the fact that we have had good teachers, well paid, promptly and fairly, and have kept them from year to year.

Doubtless the Principal's modesty led him to insist

too much on this feature of school organization and too little upon his own part in creating such a situation; but certainly the men who were associated with him added greatly to the reputation of the Academy.

Dr. Bancroft, moreover, knew how to deal with his assistants. Dr. Taylor, as his own words show, kept a sharp surveillance over his teachers, and used regularly to visit and examine their classes, in order to assure himself that their duties were being satisfactorily performed. These inquisitorial methods resulted in more than one instance in embarrassment for young and inexperienced teachers, especially in the not infrequent cases when the Principal did not hesitate publicly to criticize classroom procedure and to remonstrate with an instructor in the presence of his pupils. Dr. Bancroft, who insisted on "the inviolability of the lecture-room from outside intrusion," made such supervision and inspection unfashionable. He believed that teachers should feel free to control recitations in their own individual ways; thus he wisely allowed them to establish their own methods, and was content to judge them by their results, by their power to arouse enthusiasm and to stimulate scholarship. Under this treatment able men appreciated their independence, and acquired confidence, knowing that they were not to be hampered by the imposition of another's pedagogical views. In Faculty meeting also Dr. Bancroft was equally tolerant, permitting unrestricted liberty to his assistants, accepting the opinion of each on its merits alone, and making each man realize that it was worth his while to contribute

to the discussion out of his knowledge or experience. The Principal's unerring tact and skill in handling diverse personalities enabled him to lead without acting the tyrant. He thus seldom failed to get from his Faculty that personal devotion which, as President Eliot has said, is necessary to the best working of any institution.

When Phillips Academy opened in September, 1873, Dr. Bancroft had with him four of Mr. Tilton's staff: of these, George H. Taylor, whom Bancroft had advised the Trustees to retain, remained for two years; LaRoy F. Griffin, the Peabody Instructor, also left in 1875; Professor Oscar Faulhaber remained only one year; and the fourth, Professor Churchill, was fortunately to be Bancroft's associate for many years to come. It was the new Principal's undisguised intention to waste no time in building up a Faculty of his own, on which he could rely implicitly. Three instructors he engaged almost at once: one, John Mason Tyler (1851–), could be kept only a year, and is now the brilliant Professor of Biology at Amherst College; another, Edward Gustin Coy[1] (1844–1904), developed at Phillips Academy into one of the great teachers

[1] Edward G. Coy was born in Ithaca, New York, graduated from Yale in 1869, and, after a few years of teaching at Williston Seminary, came to Phillips Academy as Instructor (later Professor) of Greek. In 1892, with Professor Comstock, he helped to establish the Hotchkiss School at Lakeville, Connecticut, of which he was Head Master until his death in New Haven, May 26, 1904. Tall, erect, and dignified, Professor Coy seldom unbent, but seemed the very embodiment of unyielding authority. He was an inspiring teacher, and popular with his students, who called him "Eddie Greek." He edited several textbooks, and was well known as a lecturer and public speaker. While at Andover he refused attractive offers to go to other institutions, including Lawrenceville and the Phillips Exeter Academy.

of his generation; and the third, Matthew Scoby McCurdy (1849–), is still connected with the school as Instructor in Mathematics, after nearly forty-five years of continuous service.

With Professor Coy and Mr. McCurdy the Principal had a nucleus for a loyal and efficient faculty. He tried assiduously to secure young and active men, and when he had found a teacher to his liking, he used every effort to prevent his escape. In 1874 came David Young Comstock[1] (1852–), who, almost contemporaneous with Professor Coy at Andover, became as famous in Latin as Coy was in Greek. Coy and Comstock, with Professor Graves, who returned to Phillips Academy in 1881 as Peabody Instructor, constituted the so-called "triumvirate," who governed the school for one year during the Principal's trip abroad.

A plan so decidedly at variance with previous procedure was naturally not perfected without some difficulties. Feeble and unintelligent teachers were occasionally added to the staff by mistake; good men could not always be retained, especially when the financial inducements were limited. But gradu-

[1] David Young Comstock, familiarly known as "Commy," graduated at Amherst in 1873 and came in 1874 to Phillips Academy. In 1892 he left with Professor Coy to organize the Hotchkiss School, but withdrew some years later, and is at present teaching in Fall River. Professor Comstock, who was something of a martinet, had a reputation for thoroughness and severity for which he is still remembered by alumni. He was, however, recognized as a "good fellow," and he helped many of his students out of trouble. When he and Coy departed, many anxious heads were shaken because of the impending disaster which, it was thought, could not be averted. Professor Comstock delivered a striking address at the Commencement Dinner in 1914.

ally Dr. Bancroft managed to reduce the number of instructors who stayed for one year only; and, as exigencies arose, the Faculty steadily increased in size. By 1886 their number had increased to ten, by 1892 to fifteen, and by 1896 to twenty. Many of the group, of course, made only a slight impression on community or academic life, and, with their withdrawal, were soon forgotten. In general, however, they were far more influential and efficient than the assistants under any earlier Principal. Only a few of them can be mentioned here. In 1880 Mr. George Thomas Eaton (1856–), son of James S. Eaton and brother of another teacher, William W. Eaton, came to Phillips Academy, at first as Instructor in Chemistry and Rhetoric, but later in Mathematics; from that date until the present time his service has been unbroken. Moses Clement Gile[1] (1858–1916), for nine years an instructor, is still remembered with affection by his students. Of those who once taught in the school and who are at work to-day in other institutions or professions a few should be named: Henry W. Boynton, now an author and critic; H. C. Bierwirth and Clifford H. Moore, professors in Harvard; Walter R. Newton, professor in Rutgers; William H. Terrill; and George D. Pettee. Others there are, perhaps the majority, who have not cared to leave Andover Hill. Of the seventeen men listed on

[1] M. Clement Gile, a native of Haverhill, graduated from Phillips Academy in 1879 and from Brown in 1883, and came direct to Andover as a teacher, remaining until 1892. He was later a professor in Colorado College, where he became widely known as a scholar and leader in his community. He was one of the best teachers that Phillips Academy ever had.

the Faculty in the year 1892–93, seven still remain in 1917, with a record of a quarter of a century behind them. Of the twenty-two printed in the catalogue for 1901–02, thirteen are teaching in the Academy to-day. These statistics demonstrate how successfully Dr. Bancroft established his principle that the Faculty should be a permanent and continuous body.

It is significant, also, that Dr. Bancroft came more and more to see the desirability of increased specialization in teaching. On the rapidly waning theory of Dr. Taylor a young man fresh from college was often shifted arbitrarily from one subject to another, on the assumption, apparently, that any Bachelor of Arts ought to be able to give adequate instruction in any preparatory school course. The endowment of two chairs, one in natural sciences and the other in Latin, made easier the adoption of a radically different policy. Dr. Bancroft himself had no great confidence in would-be teachers who were mere Doctors of Philosophy; nevertheless he saw the necessity of reform. Long before his death he had so revolutionized the system that each instructor confined himself largely to one subject, English, or mathematics, or Greek, with the realization that it was his business to perfect himself as a specialist in that field. An interesting example of the situation before the anomalies were cleared up is the case of M. Clement Gile, who came in 1883–84, during Professor Coy's absence, to teach Greek; in the following year his province was "English studies"; in 1885 it was "English studies and Latin"; in 1887 it was "Latin"; and in 1888

it was "Latin and French." Mr. Gile, moreover, was an exceptionally able teacher. In 1894 Dr. Bancroft reported: —

> At present Mr. McCurdy, Professor Moore, Mr. Pettee, Mr. Stone, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Boynton have strictly departmental work. Professor Graves and Mr. Eaton approach it, but they do more or less work not strictly related to their main work. The difficulty of the time-table and the unevenness of the size of the classes, some requiring two divisions and others being not unmanageable in one division, and, thirdly, the amount of work in some subjects not being sufficient to engage all the time of a teacher, prevent, and probably always will prevent, the full introduction of departmental work.

For some years Dr. Bancroft struggled to retain in his own hands all the increasing labor of administration and also to teach seventeen hours a week. However, the burden of the routine office duty eventually proved too fatiguing for even his almost tireless mind and body, and by 1893 he had given up all classroom instruction except one division in Virgil's *Æneid*. As the school grew larger, he was compelled against his own desire to delegate many responsibilities to his teachers. He originated what is known to-day as the system of "class officers," by which an experienced member of the Faculty is assigned to each class, and entrusted with the arrangement of suitable schedules for the boys under his care. Each class officer soon came to be in a large sense identified with the work and the boys of the class in his charge.

During all the earlier years of his régime, and, to some extent, up to the time of his death, Dr. Bancroft, like Dr. Taylor, carried on all the office corre-

spondence, even that on trivial subjects, in long-hand, there being no stenographers or clerks to assist him. In 1888, however, the position of Secretary of the Faculty was entrusted to Mr. George D. Pettee, who, in 1892, became Registrar. Mr. Pettee created an accurate and comprehensive system of record-keeping; he kept on permanent file reports of grades, absences, and demerits, sent regular letters to parents, and answered all inquiries with regard to such statistics. The class officers, moreover, gradually took into their own hands a considerable share of the routine correspondence. All these changes, each in the direction of increased specialization, afforded the Principal no small relief from drudgery; but even with this aid he was often needlessly worried over unimportant details.

We have seen, then, how Dr. Bancroft satisfactorily carried out two of his chief aims: first, "to bring the Academy into perfect harmony and working cooperation with the various colleges and scientific schools, and hold it there"; second, "to get teachers who are both able and willing to remain with us, giving to us not alone their 'prentice work, but also their highest and best professional work in the glory and pride of their teaching powers." Still another problem of serious moment confronted him: to add to the material equipment of the school, to make the living quarters more comfortable and commodious, and to enlarge the endowment so that current expenses could be met without embarrassment. His achievements in this last field, no less important than his reforms in scholarship and administration, deserve the attention of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION; MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER DR. BANCROFT

Growth is the only evidence of life.

To those who knew Phillips Academy and had watched its progress, the early years of Dr. Bancroft must have seemed very discouraging. In the first place, the attendance gradually but steadily declined, until in 1877 the enrollment was only 177, the smallest since 1842. For this falling-off no decisive cause can be cited. Probably the noticeable change in policy instituted by the new Principal weakened temporarily the public confidence in the school. Dr. Bancroft himself in his report for 1876 attributed the situation partly to the rise of other competing institutions like Williston Seminary and Worcester Academy, partly to "the unsettled condition of the Faculty," and partly to the failure of Andover boys to do well in college entrance examinations. In the second place, the Academy was running behind financially from $3000 to $5000 a year, and debts were accumulating. The $15,000 due on the Main Building in 1865 had, in ten years, increased to $29,000 simply through unpaid interest charges. Almost no money in the way of gifts was coming in: in 1876 Dr. Ebenezer Alden, of the Trustees, gave $1000 as a nucleus for a sinking fund; the Samuel H. Taylor Memorial Fund, collected mainly by William H. Halsted, reached the sum of $3850, the interest of which

was paid to Mrs. Taylor until her death, May 12, 1878, when $3600 reverted to Phillips Academy as a fund for the benefit of poor students. But the contributions so badly needed for the general endowment did not seem to be forthcoming.

So far as buildings were concerned, also, the school was at a disadvantage. Andover Theological Seminary was well equipped, fully supplied with houses and dormitories; Phillips Academy had for its own merely the new Main Building, the eleven old Commons dormitories, the old Brick Academy (in use as a gymnasium), and a few scattered buildings of no importance. The Trustees, as the *Records* and Dr. Bancroft's correspondence show conclusively, were more interested in the Seminary than in the Academy. Everywhere the Principal met with obstacles. His proposals were viewed with suspicion, and sometimes dismissed in curt phrases; but in the face of indifference he never ceased to present to his colleagues on the Board the immediate needs of Phillips Academy.

In the approaching centennial of the school in 1878 Dr. Bancroft saw his chief hope of success. As early as 1875 he mentioned the coming anniversary to the Board, and suggested that it must be observed with appropriate ceremony. In June, 1877, a committee was appointed for making the necessary plans, the chairman being the Reverend Edward G. Porter [1]

[1] Edward G. Porter entered Phillips Academy in 1851, graduated from Harvard in 1858 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1864, and was pastor at Lexington, where, in 1875, he had charge of the centennial celebration in that town. He was President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and a prominent antiquarian.

(1837–1900), of Lexington, with the Reverend Francis H. Johnson, of Andover, and Dr. Bancroft as the other members. Dr. Bancroft, whose enthusiasm was earnest and infectious, did much more than his allotted share of the preparation. A large number of subcommittees were named, under whose direction the various details were discussed and arranged for. The town of Andover, when invited by the Trustees to participate in the celebration, appointed a large special committee, with Chief Justice Marcus Morton as chairman, under which were smaller groups delegated for specific purposes. To the fund required 242 donors subscribed the sum of $2024.85, and the additional cost, amounting to $897.02, was generously contributed by Deacon Peter Smith. Nearly a hundred families in the town put their homes at the disposal of the committee for the entertainment of guests. Under Dr. Bancroft's tactful guidance all went smoothly, and no friction was perceptible.

The celebration, which finally took place on June 5 and 6, 1878, proved to be the most notable event of that sort in the history of Phillips Academy. The streets and residences were lavishly decorated with flags and bunting; historic sites on the Hill and in the town were marked by draped inscriptions; the Campus was illuminated at night with Chinese lanterns hung from the old elms, and a full moon made the scene still more impressive. On Wednesday afternoon, June 5, the programme opened with the twelfth annual Draper Speaking in the Academy Hall, followed by the presentation of the portraits of seven

THE CHAPEL

THE FARRAR HOUSE AT THE CENTENNIAL IN 1878

distinguished men connected with the school: Ebenezer Pemberton, Samuel Williston, Horatio B. Hackett, Osgood Johnson, James S. Eaton, Lieutenant S. H. Thompson, and Frederic W. Tilton. In the evening the crowd gathered in a huge tent or pavilion with a seating capacity of 3500 people, which had been set up on the Training-Field, the open park in front of the Mansion House. The exercises here were partly musical: but they included also an address of welcome by Dr. Bancroft, with a response on behalf of the alumni by the Reverend William Adams, son of Principal John Adams, and an interesting and scholarly historical address, *The Annals of Phillips Academy*, delivered by the Reverend William E. Park [1] (1837–1910), son of Professor Edwards A. Park. In preparing this paper Dr. Park collected and preserved much valuable material concerning the early days of the school.

On the morning of Thursday, June 6, a Phillips Academy Alumni Association was formed with a membership of over three hundred, the Honorable George O. Shattuck, of Boston, being elected President. The programme in the pavilion for that day included an oration by the Reverend Alexander McKenzie, and the reading by Oliver Wendell Holmes of his poem, *The School Boy*, written especially for the occasion. About noon a procession was formed which, headed by General William Cogswell as Chief Marshal and

[1] William Edwards Park graduated from Andover in 1856 and from Yale in 1861, was ordained in 1867, and was a pastor in Lawrence, Massachusetts and Gloversville, New York (1876–1904). After 1904 until his death he engaged in literary work in Oberlin, Ohio.

the Boston Cadet Band, marched from Main Street, through Chapel Avenue and up the Elm Arch, to a second large tent on the Training-Field, containing places for 1556 at the dining-tables. Here after luncheon many speeches were delivered, with Professor Churchill acting in his usual witty manner as toastmaster. Among those who responded were Governor Rice of the Commonwealth, Dr. E. K. Alden, Dr. Phillips Brooks, General H. K. Oliver, President Charles W. Eliot, Professor Park, Josiah Quincy, President Porter of Yale, President Bartlett of Dartmouth, the Honorable Gustavus V. Fox, and others, alumni and guests. In the evening a reception was held, with reunions of the various classes — and the long programme was over.

The story of a hundred years was closed. The volume of *Records*, in which Clerk Jonathan French over a century before had inscribed the memorable words of the Constitution, was now, by a curious coincidence, exactly completed. On the last page was placed the following minute, from Dr. Bancroft's easy and felicitous pen: —

The Trustees, assembled this day at the Mansion House, review with thankfulness and exultation the historic facts, that more than 9000 students have enjoyed its advantages; that it is richly honored in its alumni, among whom are many distinguished merchants, manufacturers, inventors, scientists, college presidents and professors, doctors of medicine, statesmen, diplomats, missionaries, and ministers of the Gospel; that large numbers of its graduates have risen to high places of trust and honor; that not a few, for various eminent services, have been placed on the roll of the most distinguished men of our age, and that the Acad-

emy has been a fountain of measureless influences which through many channels have flowed forth for the good of our country and the world.

In many other ways also this Centennial Celebration marked the opening of a new era in the history of Phillips Academy. Dr. Bancroft had insisted that an organized effort should be made to raise at least $100,000. There was, unfortunately, no direct descendant of Judge Phillips able or willing to come to the aid of the school in its hour of need; but a member of another branch of the family, John Charles Phillips [1] (1838–85), gave $25,000 to establish a professorship of Latin. In a letter to the Trustees enclosing the promised check Mr. Phillips said: —

It gives me the greatest joy to tender this gift in the belief that it will be of material benefit in helping to build up and place upon a more solid foundation an academy of learning, founded by members of my family, in which I received my early education, and whose future career I shall always follow with the liveliest interest.

In recognition of Mr. Phillips's timely generosity the Trustees sent him a special letter of thanks, closing as follows: —

The Trustees . . . recognize the beautiful harmony between the beginning and the end of the first century in the

[1] John Charles Phillips, grandson of Mayor John Phillips, of Boston, was born in that city, October 21, 1838, the son of the Reverend John C. Phillips and Harriet (Welch) Phillips. He graduated from Phillips Academy in 1854 and from Harvard in 1858. In the brokerage and commission business he made a large fortune. He was a liberal benefactor of the Phillips Exeter Academy, of which he was also a Trustee. Mr. Phillips died in Boston, March 1, 1885. His children, one of whom is the Honorable William Phillips, now assistant Secretary of State of the United States, are the donors of the Phillips Gateway to the Campus at Andover.

Academy's history. On the first page of its records, under date of May, 1777, stands the honored name of John Phillips; and now in 1877, that one similar in name, and of the family of the founders, should come forward and repeat the strain, "Knowledge and goodness united form the noblest character, and lay the surest foundation of usefulness to mankind," is as remarkable as it is pleasing.

The further sum of $23,288.81 was made up by gifts from many friends of the school, including $10,000 from Joshua M. Sears [1] (1854–1905), $5000 from William O. Grover, and smaller amounts from other gentlemen. The largest contribution at the centennial, however, was the "Peter Smith Byers Endowment Fund" of $40,000, the income of which was to be "forever used for the support and maintenance of the Principal for the time being of Phillips Academy." The creators of this fund were Peter Smith, of Andover, who gave $20,000; his brother, John Smith, of Andover, who gave $10,000; and John Byers,[2] of New York, their nephew, who gave $10,000. The fund was intended as a memorial for Mr. Byers's brother, Peter Smith Byers,[3] whose premature death in 1856,

[1] Joshua Montgomery Sears, born in Yarmouthport, attended Phillips Academy for a short period in 1869, but did not complete the course. He graduated from Yale in 1877. The heir to a large fortune, he came to be known as the largest owner of real estate in Boston. He died at Southboro, June 2, 1905. Mr. Sears's gift of $10,000 was sent on May 5, 1878, from Geneva, Switzerland, where he received Dr. Bancroft's letter asking for funds.

[2] Deacon Peter Smith and John Smith have already been mentioned (page 310) as in part the donors of Brechin Hall. Their sister's son, John Byers, was assisted by them in business and prospered as they had done.

[3] An account of Peter Smith Byers is given on page 308. In mentioning him to John Smith, Dr. Bancroft, writing for the Trustees, said: "He died in the morning of his promising manhood, but he lives in

when he was still under thirty, had been a sad blow to his family.

The donations which thus so unexpectedly and so rapidly filled the empty coffers compelled the Trustees to ask the General Court for an increase in their holding power; accordingly, by an act passed March 8, 1880, the Board was authorized to hold real estate amounting to $500,000 and personal property up to $1,000,000. The tale of gifts, moreover, was not yet ended. On June 18, 1881, came a check for $5000 in payment of a legacy to the school of Dr. Ebenezer Alden, of Randolph, a Trustee from 1837 until 1881. In March, 1882, through the influence of William H. Willcox [1] (1821–1904), a member of the Board and, after 1879, the almoner of Mrs. Valeria G. Stone,[2] a wealthy widow of Malden, Massachusetts, the "Stone Educational Fund" of $25,000 was tendered to Phillips Academy, with the stipulation that, during Mrs.

the memory of his pupils and will live as long as human institutions in this memorial endowment." In 1878 Mr. John Byers established a "Peter Smith Byers Scholarship Fund" of $500, and a year later he sent a portrait of Peter Smith Byers, which was dedicated and hung in the school hall, February 5, 1880.

[1] William Henry Willcox, a graduate of New York University in 1843 and of Union Theological Seminary in 1846, was pastor for many years at Kennebunk, Maine, and afterwards at Reading, Massachusetts. He was elected a Trustee of Phillips Academy in 1878 and served until his death, December 15, 1904. He was also a Trustee of other institutions, including Drury College, Wellesley College, Abbot Academy, and Jaffna College, Ceylon.

[2] Mrs. Stone's husband, Daniel P. Stone, who died in 1877 without children, left his large fortune to his wife, stipulating that it should be distributed in charities. In 1879 Mrs. Stone appointed the Reverend Mr. Willcox as her trustee and adviser, and under his supervision $2,000,000 was in six years given to various institutions, $153,000 of it to Andover Theological Seminary.

Stone's lifetime, the income should be paid to her, but that, after her death, it should be devoted to the aid of poor students. After Mrs. Stone's death, January 15, 1884, the money became available for school purposes.

Meanwhile the attendance, which had reached almost its nadir in 1877, responded to the stimulus of the centennial and grew steadily, reaching 246 in 1882 and 266 in 1883. A year later it passed the 300 mark, and in 1892 it jumped for the first time to over 400. This increase was not a sudden spurt, but a gradual and natural growth due to causes far from inexplicable.

This gratifying prosperity was reflected in the confident optimism of the Principal, who, in his report for 1883, outlined very clearly the extent of the advance made in the preceding decade: —

> I have been tempted to make some comparisons between the situation of the Academy and its prospects today, and the same ten years ago. It will be sufficient to say that a steadfast policy of "good material and good work"; an able and zealous faculty more stable and better paid than in any previous decade; the generous outpouring of gifts; the careful husbanding of resources and the creation of resources by the Trustees, have been crowned by a marked blessing from above. Our Yale examinations last year were of such a character as to elicit remarkable commendation and praise from the professors in charge. Harvard speaks less disparagingly of our students, and we are no longer in seeming antagonism with their methods and demands. Amherst, through the Dean, writes that no boys are better prepared, or a more desirable contingent to their college.
>
> With many indications of outward prosperity, and a

gratifying increase abroad, with much improvement in internal working, the Faculty feel, as none others can, that the work has just begun, and more consecrated work, more equipments, more money, are necessary to carry forward the interests of this old and honored school, and realize the comprehensive aims of the far-seeing Founders.

There were other indications, also, that the lean years had been left behind. The Samuel H. Taylor Memorial Library, started shortly after Dr. Taylor's death, had been augmented in 1876 by a gift from his sister, Mrs. Horace Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, who presented to the Trustees her brother's collection of classical books, numbering nearly two thousand in all. By 1883 the volumes had increased to nearly three thousand. In the summer of 1882 the Trustees yielded to Dr. Bancroft's insistent demands and erected a small chemical laboratory at a cost of $8000. This was a brick structure, the east wing of the present Graves Hall. On March 8, 1883, it was formally opened with speeches by Professor Graves, Mr. George T. Eaton, and several members of the Senior class. In March, 1884, the ground was staked out for the Principal's Office[1] (now occupied by the Phillips Club), on Main Street north of "Double Brick," and it was completed in the summer of 1885. It had quarters for both Treasurer and Principal, and there every morning in term time Dr. Bancroft was found at his desk, busy with papers and letters, interviewing anxious parents, and chiding

[1] The money for this building was a gift from Treasurer Edward Taylor, who intended it originally as a meeting-place for the Trustees, with a room for his office. Dr. Bancroft later occupied the Trustees' room for his own day office.

recalcitrant boys. The old Treasurer's Office, a small house built by 'Squire Farrar on the land between his own residence and the Park House, was moved in 1885 to the northeast corner of the Old Campus, where, at the suggestion of the *Phillipian*, it was transformed into a reading-room. The expense of the magazines and periodicals was paid by the students, who, at the opening of each fall term, auctioned off the publications to the highest bidder. For some years a reading-room manager was elected by the boys. Smoking was allowed there, and many sensitive youngsters complained of the foul atmosphere and dirty floors. For some years, also, an athletic store was maintained in one half of the building, and it became a center for undergraduate loafers.

The debt on the Main Building, which had been a burden for nearly twenty years, was finally canceled at the closing of accounts, April 30, 1885; thus a considerable financial problem was removed from the Treasurer's mind. On June 23 of that year a marble bust of Dr. Samuel H. Taylor, presented by his sister, Miss Emma L. Taylor, was unveiled, with a neat presentation speech on behalf of Miss Taylor by Professor John W. Churchill.

Certain alterations and improvements in the Seminary plant at about this period were eventually to prove important to Phillips Academy. As early as 1864 an anonymous gentleman had pledged $20,000 to the Trustees for the erection of a chapel, and a foundation had actually been dug; unfortunately, however, the donor met with reverses in business and was unable to fulfill his promise; the work, therefore,

had to be discontinued. In 1875 subscription papers were circulated, with active soliciting by the theological professors and with happy results, and the cornerstone was laid[1] on July 1, 1875. This Seminary Church, the cost of which was $46,333.24, was dedicated on October 2, 1876, with a sermon by Professor Egbert C. Smyth. It is now the Chapel of Phillips Academy.

In the spring of 1880 the old farmhouse built by Judge Phillips on the corner of Main and Phillips Streets, and then occupied by the well-known Deacon Holbrook Chandler[2] (1820–86), was moved to the north side of Morton Street, and on the site was placed a modern "Queen Anne" dwelling,[3] strangely out of harmony with the colonial President's House next door. Here Professor William J. Tucker, afterwards President of Dartmouth College, made his home for many years; it is this house also which is described in Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's novel, *A Singular Life*, as the home of Professor Carruth and his daughter Helen. In 1881, also, the stately Farrar

[1] In this ceremony several people participated: Alpheus Hardy, representing the Trustees; Dr. John L. Taylor, the Seminary; Dr. Bancroft, the Academy; and Miss Agnes Park, the ladies of Andover. The architects were Cummings and Sears of Boston.

[2] Deacon Chandler was born in Andover, and was for many years an Overseer in the Amoskeag Mills. In 1869 he was appointed "Executive Officer of the Treasurer of Phillips Academy," which position he held for seventeen years. Deacon Chandler had a lively interest in school and Seminary matters, and proved to be an excellent superintendent of grounds and buildings.

[3] This building was presented to the Trustees by members of the Jewett family as a house for Professor Tucker, and, after him, for future Bartlet Professors of Sacred Rhetoric in the Seminary. The total cost of the residence was about $17,500, and it was called at the time of its completion "the finest house on Andover Hill."

House, which, since 1812, had stood on the opposite corner of Main and Phillips Streets, was moved down Phillips Street to its present location, and in its place was erected a second "Queen Anne" residence [1] intended for Professor Churchill. These buildings are now owned and used by Phillips Academy.

The Mansion House, after its transformation into a tavern, became the logical center of social life on the Hill: there the Trustees continued to hold their meetings and to dine sedately together; there also the boys held their more noisy banquets on festive occasions. Under its roof many distinguished visitors to Andover were sheltered: Lafayette, Emerson, Webster, Jackson, Pierce, Wendell Phillips, James G. Blaine, Beecher, Holmes, Ole Bull, Mark Twain, Phillips Brooks, William Dean Howells, and scores of others. Itself unscathed, it had weathered storm after storm, and had watched other apparently less perishable buildings go up in flames. Its second century, however, was hardly well started when, on the early morning of November 29, 1887, an incendiary kindled fires in several different sections of the tavern. The proprietor, Charles L. Carter, rode posthaste from his estate at Carter's Hill, but, although firemen and students labored for hours, it was soon apparent that the blaze could not be halted. By morning nothing was left of the historic structure but the tall brick chimneys looming up like gaunt apparitions among charred beams and débris. The huge lock and key, rescued by

[1] Much of the money for this house was given by Professor Churchill and his relatives. It was moved in 1900 to its present location next to the Woods House on South Main Street.

some careful antiquarian, were preserved; a bit of paneling saved by an old resident is now and then shown in an Andover home; but most of the valuable contents were destroyed.[1] Many precious memories and associations perished in that conflagration; indeed, to many people Andover Hill afterward was never quite the same.

Still another ancient landmark was also doomed. The Abbot House on Phillips Street, where Judge Phillips and Eliphalet Pearson had lived and where the Constitution of Phillips Academy had been signed, had gradually been falling into decay. Used for many years as a boarding-house, it had not been repaired or renovated, and experts pronounced it unsafe to live in. On December 9, 1889, workmen started to tear down the walls, and before the year was over, nothing remained but the stone cellar. This building, which was old when the Phillips School was opened in 1778, was almost the last structure on Andover Hill dating from the previous century.

The destruction of the Mansion House left the Hill temporarily without an inn; but the deficiency was supplied when Mr. Carter, the former proprietor of the Mansion House, was given the lease of the Stowe House on Chapel Avenue and remodeled it as a hotel, still under the somewhat inappropriate name of the Mansion House. In 1893 the Trustees spent about $22,000 for the addition of a wooden west wing to the original building; and when this was completed, Mr. E. P. Hitchcock replaced Mr. Carter as landlord.

[1] The chair on which Washington sat was luckily rescued, and is now at Cambridge in possession of Andover Theological Seminary.

Under his management and that of his successors, Mr. Charles Ripley and Mr. John M. Stewart, the Phillips Inn, as it soon came to be called, has been an indispensable part of the school equipment.

All these alterations and changes, desirable though they were, actually affected the needs of Phillips Academy only very slightly. The school was like a lanky boy of fourteen who has grown so rapidly that all his clothes are too small for him and who requires, not only a larger hat and collar, but a complete rehabilitation if he is to make a presentable appearance. New recitation halls, a more commodious assembly hall, larger and better dormitories — all these were absolutely necessary. Dr. Bancroft soon learned that prosperity, like adversity, has its peculiar problems, and that a progressive institution cannot afford to let itself seem shabby.

It was in his report for 1879, when the wear and stress of the centennial were over and he had achieved in part his aim of strengthening the endowment, that Dr. Bancroft opened fire on a topic already well worn — the amelioration of dormitory conditions. In outlining his views he wrote somewhat forcibly: —

> As compared with Easthampton, Exeter, St. Johnsbury, New London, Wilbraham, Dean, St. Paul's, and several other academies, our accommodations are mean, expensive, and very unattractive. The unsightliness of Commons is of little account, but it is too true that our supervision of them is insufficient, that the care of the rooms is left to the boys entirely, even to the removal of waste water and ashes, the sweeping, bed-making, and cleaning. . . . I know how difficult it is to improve accommodations without increasing the general scale of expense, but if the

Academy is to be a great educational establishment, it must regard the physical, moral, and æsthetic requirements of its pupils, and it may be a serious question whether we are not sanctioning or tolerating conditions too perilous to the manners, morals, and health of the boys. I do not wish to be misunderstood. It is a part of a boy's education to build his own fires, no doubt; it may be to black his boots, bring his water, and sweep his room. No room, however, can be too bright or cheerful for his Dining Hall, no bread and meat too good for his young and growing brain, and no teacher can be too solicitous as to his companions and friendships, his industry, order, and piety.

This statement was but the beginning of a long campaign, in which the Principal, by argument, entreaty, and insistence, used every means to gain his desires. In a letter written December 2, 1884, he made specific suggestions: —

Our present Commons must be replaced by more commodious buildings. They are built on the right plan . . . but the Farrar plan, so excellent, so prophetic, was poorly carried out. It is a marvel that only one of the twelve houses has been burnt. The walls are thin, the staircases too narrow, the outward appearance is ugly and poverty-stricken, the rooms all too small, with ceilings too low. As soon as we can get $5000 for the purpose, we want to put up a cottage which will be all that such a structure can be, pleasing in appearance, convenient, roomy without pretension, of the best materials, built on sanitary principles, and a perfect home for twelve high-minded boys, whose business is to get an education.

Faculty inspection of the Commons, never taken very seriously, had become a farce. About 1880 a committee made a perfunctory visit every Friday noon.

At Faculty meeting the oral report of this committee was usually received with smiles. Dr. Bancroft told gleefully of the occasion when he guided over Andover Hill a prominent statesman who was thinking of sending his son either to Exeter or to Andover. The great man struggled up and down the winding Commons staircases, smelt the unedifying odors and saw the unattractive sights; then, turning to Dr. Bancroft, he said, "Well, sir, this school is the place for my boy." "Good," replied the Principal. "Yes," continued the visitor, "any institution which can keep the fine reputation which Andover has, and yet lodge its students in such disreputable barracks, must have about it some miraculous quality which I want my son to learn to know."

The catalogues of this period were not all deceptive: —

> The accommodations provided in Commons are very plain, and intended expressly for those who wish to make their expenses small.

Not many complaints, however, emanated from the boys. Despite the somewhat unsanitary and primitive conditions under which they lived, most of them were willing to forego luxury in return for their feeling of independence. There was also about the weather-beaten buildings an indefinable atmosphere of romance, which made their occupants, however much they grumbled, really reluctant to leave. The wind howled terribly around the corners and whistled through the cracks on February nights; but there were always friends near by to join in talk around the

stove and there were weird adventures in which to lend a hand. Few of those who once spent student days within those walls would, in the retrospect, be without that experience.

One Trustee said at an annual meeting, somewhat jocularly, that the cost of the glass broken in Commons every year was greater than that of the entire group of buildings. In the fall term of 1889 over two hundred panes were knocked out, nearly all in a single ferocious skirmish. Now and then, as if to allay criticism, a broken sash was repaired or a rotted board replaced. In the summer of 1890, indeed, $2000 was expended in improvements: rooms were painted and papered so that the interior looked clean and bright, and the names and numerals on the outside walls were covered with fresh paint. Andoverians began to feel that all hope of removing the Commons had vanished forever.

Dr. Bancroft in one of his few despondent moods had just written, "We are weakest, it seems to me now, on the material side." At this moment there occurred an incident, apparently trivial and unimportant, but in reality of far-reaching consequence. The first dinner of the New York Alumni Association was held on March 31, 1891, in the Hotel Brunswick, and an especial effort had been made to have a successful meeting. An elaborate printed programme containing good illustrations of school buildings, old and new, was provided, and the list of speakers was unusually interesting. It happened that Mr. Alpheus H. Hardy, then Treasurer of the Trustees, made a brief address, in the course of which he remarked incidentally that

graduates might well give to Phillips Academy money for the erection of buildings, accepting from the Trustees an annuity of five per cent on the investment while they lived and bequeathing the property to the school at their deaths. This suggestion caught the attention of a gentleman present, Mr. Melville Cox Day [1] (1839–1913), who, after having accumulated a considerable fortune in the law, was now about to retire from active practice and who, having no near relatives to whom to leave his money, was ready to listen to a proposition like Mr. Hardy's, which had to do with the welfare of his former school. Before definitely deciding on his course of action, however, he consulted his intimate friend, Professor John Phelps Taylor, who, through his residence in Andover and his knowledge of the needs of Phillips Academy, was well qualified to give him advice. Professor Taylor at once assured Mr. Day that the latter could not do better than to further Dr. Bancroft's plans, and Mr. Day, who was familiar with the Commons as they were in 1857–58, was easily amenable to this suggestion. He

[1] Melville Cox Day was born in Biddeford, Maine, June 2, 1839. At Phillips Academy, from which he graduated in 1858, he made a brilliant record in scholarship and was also President of the Philomathean Society. At Yale, where Day graduated in 1862, he roomed with John Phelps Taylor, whose friendship he had made at Andover. After leaving Yale, he studied at Harvard Law School; in 1865, when he had had some experience in practice, he moved to St. Louis, where he became a member of the firm of Cline, Jamison, and Day, and was later counsel for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. He was married December 1, 1875, to Mary Garrison, daughter of Commodore C. K. Garrison, of New York, but she lived only three months after the wedding. After 1882 he practiced in New York, but retired about 1890, and a few years later settled in Florence, Italy, where he died, December 29, 1913. His portrait by H. Winthrop Pierce hangs in Brechin Hall.

therefore made to Mr. Hardy in May, 1891, a formal offer of $8000 for a new cottage, and the gift was accepted by the Trustees on June 8. In September ground was broken on Phillips Street nearly opposite Farrar House, and the construction was completed in April, 1893. In the following autumn it was occupied by students, with Mr. William H. Terrill as the Faculty proctor. Meanwhile Mr. Day, on January 22, 1892, had sent his check for the promised sum, together with the request that the building be named "Taylor Cottage," after his friend, Professor John Phelps Taylor. The architect, A. W. Longfellow, of Boston, had arranged the interior to accommodate the same number as each of the Commons dormitories; there were thus six suites containing two or three rooms, so that, under normal circumstances, ten boys and an instructor could be housed comfortably. The modern dormitory system for which Dr. Bancroft had labored since 1879 was at last under way.

Meanwhile the question of the needs of Phillips Academy had become so acute that it was being agitated in Andover itself, by Professor John Phelps Taylor[1] (1841–1915) as a leader, and other prominent

[1] John Phelps Taylor, son of John Lord Taylor, was born at Andover in 1841. At Phillips Academy he made a brilliant record, and he was Valedictorian of the class of 1862 at Yale. After two years of travel he entered Andover Theological Seminary in 1865 and graduated in 1868, being a teacher during part of that time in Phillips Academy. On October 14, 1868, he married Antoinette Hall, of New Haven, Connecticut. For some years he held pastorates in Middletown, Connecticut; Newport, Rhode Island; and New London, Connecticut. In 1883 he came to Andover Theological Seminary as Taylor Professor, in which office he remained until his retirement in 1899. He died September 13, 1915.

Professor Taylor received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from

citizens. The *Phillipian* for February 12, 1890, complained that Andover Theological Seminary had nine professors, two lecturers, and a librarian for forty-eight students, while Phillips Academy had twelve teachers for three hundred and sixty students. Two articles in the Andover *Townsman*, by Professor Taylor and Warren F. Draper, resulted in a large mass meeting on May 21, 1891, in the Town Hall, at which Colonel George Ripley was the presiding officer. It was announced, amid great enthusiasm, that Miss Emily Carter, of Andover, had collected over $1600 to be used as the nucleus of a fund for a new dormitory. After some stirring speeches, many citizens offered pledges, and, before the day was over, $6921.34 had been contributed to what Professor Churchill called "Father Phil's subscription list." At seven o'clock that evening the boys marched to Miss Carter's home and cheered her lustily, and she responded in a stirring talk. The Andover Cottage thus made possible by townspeople was started in May, 1892, and finished January 3, 1893. Still another cottage was provided by Mr. Warren F. Draper, the Andover publisher, who took advantage of Mr. Hardy's suggestion by offering

Middlebury College in 1897. In 1892 he was made a Trustee of Abbot Academy; and in 1912 he was elected President of the Phillips Academy Alumni Association. To Phillips Academy he was a devoted and generous benefactor, not alone through his own gifts, but also through his friendship for Melville C. Day, whom he encouraged to aid the school. It was fitting that the last and most beautiful of the Day dormitories should be named "John Phelps Taylor Hall."

Professor Taylor was a dignified gentleman of the old school, with the courtly and gracious manners which we have come to associate with a past age. Endowed with consummate tact, he was ever thoughtful of others and forgetful of himself. No man after his death has ever been more missed on Andover Hill.

JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR

TAYLOR HALL

to erect a dormitory on condition that an annuity be paid to his wife until her death.[1] This Draper Cottage was located in the row of English Commons, not far from School Street. In 1892 Mr. Day, pleased with his first gift, presented money for another similar building, which was finished in 1893. This dormitory was known as "Bancroft Cottage" until 1901, when, with the completion of the larger Bancroft Hall, it was renamed "Eaton Cottage," in memory of James S. Eaton.

So it was that Phillips Academy within two years acquired four new brick cottages, modern in construction, fire-proof, comfortably heated, and attractive in appearance. The school was at last launched on one of Dr. Bancroft's favorite policies — that of housing the maximum number of boys in buildings owned or controlled by the Trustees. The theory was clearly stated in the catalogue for 1894, which describes the four cottages then existing as "the partial realization of a plan to replace, as fast as funds are provided for the purpose, the present Latin and English Commons with modern buildings, combining approved sanitary arrangements with comfortable and homelike rooms, as favorable as possible to the best student life."

The results of this arrangement upon school government were to be comprehensive. As Dr. Bancroft was well aware, Faculty supervision was bound to become more effective. With a teacher in each cottage as a permanent proctor, student exuberance could

[1] Mrs. Draper died in Andover on December 27, 1916, in her ninety-third year.

easily be restrained, and the eight o'clock rule could be enforced without difficulty. Under the old system, or lack of system, offenses against discipline, even when flagrant, were hard to detect unless the instructors were willing to resort, as they were often compelled to do in self-defense, to vicious methods of espionage. The new plan meant also that teachers and boys would be brought more closely together, and that this intimacy would make for a better understanding between them.

The revival of Mr. Day's interest in the school led to his becoming the greatest individual benefactor of Phillips Academy. It is no exaggeration to say that the present splendid equipment would have been impossible but for his long continued generosity. The dormitory system was Dr. Bancroft's conception, but had it not been for Mr. Day, it would have remained an idle vision. To these men we owe it that, in 1917, fully three fourths of the students live under direct Faculty supervision.

Mr. Day was extraordinarily modest, and habitually avoided all reference to his gifts. On one of his rare visits to Andover, in June, 1891, the boys, headed by the Glee Club, marched to Professor Taylor's home, sang and cheered, and finally induced Mr. Day to make a brief speech in response. An incident of this sort convinced him that his generosity was deeply appreciated. On January 12, 1898, without any previous warning, he wrote to Mr. Hardy: —

Would the Phillips Trustees care to have another cottage with an annuity attached to it? And if so, and if I would furnish the necessary funds, would they agree

something to this effect, *viz.* that all receipts or incomes from the Taylor or Bancroft and other cottages I may furnish the means to build shall be kept separate as say "The Cottage Fund"; that out of this fund all expenses for care, insurance, repairs, and interest on the sum presented by me shall be paid and that any surplus shall not be devoted to any other purpose except with the mutual consent of myself and the Treasurer of the Trustees?

Mr. Hardy was able to assure the donor that the Board was quite willing to comply with his not very severe stipulations. Foundations were soon excavated on Phillips Street, opposite the Latin Commons, for this new dormitory, which was a large structure, arranged as if three smaller cottages, like Andover or Draper, were joined in one. It was finally completed in 1900 at a cost of $42,375.13, and dedicated as "Bancroft Hall." [1]

In carrying out his designs for modern dormitories Dr. Bancroft had been blessed with good fortune. There were other needs, too, which he could not evade. The rapid expansion of the school was putting an excessive strain on the English or Scientific Department, which lacked room for recitations. The small laboratory erected in 1882 soon became inadequate. When chemical experiments were carried on in the basement of the Academy Building, the fumes were almost stifling. On September 2, 1891, the Trustees voted to make an addition to the Science Building, and by the autumn of 1892 the completed structure, now known as "Graves Hall," was ready for use.

[1] Mr. Day at the time sent his check for $30,000, thinking that amount to be sufficient. When Mr. Sawyer later happened to mention the extra cost, Mr. Day at once made up the deficiency.

Until the construction of Taylor Cottage there had been literally no place owned by Phillips Academy where students could bathe, and boys were fortunate, indeed, who had access to the set tubs in private houses. In the primitive gymnasium located in the old Brick Academy the apparatus was rusty and out of order, and there were no baths, either tub or shower, and no washstands. It is a miracle that the boys did not start a rebellion. At a school meeting held on May 20, 1891, they did take matters somewhat into their own hands by pledging over $1500 towards a gymnasium fund. When the situation was examined, however, it seemed best not to wait for a larger sum, but to expend the money for temporary relief; accordingly the Athletic Association erected a track house, which was informally opened on February 18, 1892. In it were several hot and cold baths, a large number of lockers, and benches for rubbing down. The *Phillipian* reported that the boys grasped eagerly the opportunity afforded them for daily ablutions.

On the morning of Tuesday, June 23, 1896, the Brick Academy was gutted by fire, only the walls remaining intact. The roof and cupola were at once restored, but it was evident that it would be undesirable to attempt to use it again for athletic purposes. The only practicable solution of the problem confronting the authorities was to make an effort to raise money for the new Gymnasium. Largely through Dr. Bancroft's personal enterprise $50,000 was finally secured, and the long-desired Gymnasium was started and named after its principal donor,

Mr. Matthew C. D. Borden of Fall River. The building itself, however, was not dedicated until after Dr. Bancroft's death. The athletic field, part of the money for which was contributed on December 19, 1900, by Mr. George B. Knapp, was also not ready for use until Dr. Bancroft's administration was at an end.

One other munificent gift came to crown the Principal's closing years. In a letter dated March 21, 1901, Mr. Robert Singleton Peabody[1] (1837–1904), of Philadelphia, offered, in behalf of his wife and himself, to present to Phillips Academy a collection of forty thousand specimens in American archæology; to provide a suitable building for their housing and exhibition; and to furnish a fund for the maintenance and enlargement of the collection and for the

[1] Robert Singleton Peabody was born in Ohio in 1837 and entered Phillips Academy in the spring of 1854. He was the nephew of George Peabody, the famous philanthropist, who, in 1866, endowed the Peabody Instructorship. The boy graduated from Phillips Academy as Valedictorian of the class of 1857, and from Harvard in 1862; after practicing law for a time in Vermont, he finally settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he resided until his death, October 1, 1904.

While he was a boy in Ohio, Mr. Peabody became interested in archæology, and collected a large number of specimens on his father's farm. Later, when he inherited property, he kept up his interest, and gave liberally to support his hobby. As early as 1898 he consulted Dr. Bancroft with regard to the possibility of establishing a museum in Andover, and, meeting with encouragement, proceeded to formulate plans by which Phillips Academy would profit, not only in the field of archæology, but also in the provision of broader social opportunities for the students.

The Peabody fund given by Mr. Peabody is now managed by a separate committee of the Trustees, who apply it in accordance with the known wishes of the Founder. The Peabody House, now the social center of the school, was built in 1915 from the accrued income; and other developments may be expected from time to time as money permits.

care of the museum. In a word, all expense of every kind was to be met by Mr. Peabody's fund. In making his arrangements Mr. Peabody consulted especially Dr. Thomas Wilson, Curator of the Smithsonian Museum, and Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, who was to be Curator of the Andover collection. In the fall of 1901 the Churchill House, on the southwest corner of Main and Phillips Streets, was moved to its present location on Main Street, and on its former site a cellar was dug for the Archæological Building.

The later history of this fund — which amounted eventually to over half a million dollars — belongs to the twentieth century. It is important here, however, to emphasize Dr. Bancroft's part in securing and applying the gift. Dr. Charles Peabody, the donor's son, has said repeatedly that it was Dr. Bancroft's progressiveness which was responsible for encouraging Mr. R. Singleton Peabody. The experiment of establishing a Department of Archæology was absolutely without a precedent in preparatory schools; but Dr. Bancroft, although he was well beyond middle age and had reached the conservative "sixties," said, "I like new ideas." When it was suggested that there might be no students, he continued: "Suppose we don't have any students; there are sites to look at; there are cemeteries; there are ancient ruins to be dug up; there is lots of work." The Principal's irrepressible optimism did not allow him to believe that the enterprise could be unsuccessful.

What has been said may unintentionally lead to

some misconception. So far, only the brighter features of the administration have been touched on. There were also the failures and the bitter disappointments, particularly depressing when they involved the renunciation of some long-cherished plan. In a pamphlet sent out to alumni in 1891 the seven committees entrusted with the work of securing money for various branches of the so-called "Reendowment Fund" asked for at least $325,000, but, with the exception of Mr. Day's contributions, only a relatively small sum was obtained. It was seldom that there was cash available for even small current needs. The salaries of the teachers, including that of Dr. Bancroft, were very low, and continued so in spite of the rapid advance in the cost of living. In 1900, when the Trustees voted the Principal $500 towards his trip abroad, he refused to accept it, on the ground that the treasury was practically empty. The buildings which he desired had often to be abandoned. He wanted, for instance, a dining-hall, where food of good quality, served in clean style, could be procured at reasonable rates; but this reform was not made possible until after his death. Phillips Academy had no good library of its own; its two or three thousand volumes were inadequate, and, when teachers required reference books, the Seminary library was the only recourse. There was no infirmary where cases of illness could be properly diagnosed and cared for, and quarantined if necessary. After 1890 the Academy Hall was too small for seating the entire undergraduate body; when the boys regularly numbered over four hundred, the

recitation rooms were crowded, and a falling-off in teaching efficiency was averted only by strenuous efforts on the part of the instructors. In the face of such irritating obstacles, with a plant in so many respects inadequate to the school needs, Dr. Bancroft toiled on patiently and courageously, sacrificing much himself, welcoming joyfully even the smallest gifts, and hoping constantly that some good angel would appear to make all gloriously right.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DAYS WHEN "BANTY" RULED

Remembered joys are never past.

Dr. Bancroft, holding sway over what Disraeli calls "the microcosm of a public school," was fortunate in having an understanding of boy psychology which enabled him to treat student problems sanely and judiciously. He often overlooked minor offenses, because in them he saw nothing more dangerous than the inevitable exuberance of youth. Athletics, even in his time, were not compulsory, and the energy and enthusiasm which to-day are vented in a healthful way on the playing-fields sometimes found an outlet in less legitimate channels. The boisterous parties at Pomp's Pond, the spring parades and "rough-houses," the intermittent bonfires and class fights which alumni love to recall, were seldom actuated by a vicious spirit. It was for this reason that Dr. Bancroft sometimes turned away his head or went down another street when such blood-letting presented itself too obtrusively to his notice. "There are some things," he used to say, "which a teacher will do well never to see."

Nevertheless, Dr. Bancroft was not free from troubles of a more serious kind. In his first report he gave some of them specific mention: —

With respect to discipline the new administration has had a considerable trial. Ignorant of the "personnel" and

the precedents of the school, unable to anticipate the favorite forms of disorder, we have done the best we could in much ignorance and inexperience, and have been gratified to learn that, in the view of some judicious citizens, not to make comparisons with former years, the present has witnessed decided improvements upon its beginning. Tobacco has proved a fruitful source and occasion of disorder. . . . Twelve boys have been rusticated for periods varying from six to eleven weeks, four expelled, five suspended for a term. In certain cases civil penalties have been inflicted, it is thought with the happiest result to the general tone of the school.

A group of wild youngsters, who called themselves the "Mulligan Guards," gave the Principal much anxiety, until eight of them were suspended. When he gained more experience and secured a closer grip on affairs, many of the more conspicuous disorders gradually disappeared, for, when punishment was necessary, the "Doctor" had a firm hand and the penalty followed promptly upon detection. In some respects this period was lawless. It would have been strange if it had not been so. To supervise properly the old Commons and to keep within bounds the large number of boys who roomed in private houses required a combination of omniscience and prophetic foresight not possessed by Sherlock Holmes or Monsieur Dupin. No mere man can be at once in all the dark corners on Andover Hill; and where the Principal was not, there was always fuel for flame. The Latin Commons "White Caps" could thus go on their depredations for many weeks undiscovered. On one occasion a few boys agreed to station themselves in different places on the Hill and in the town, and, at a

given signal, to set off guns and rockets simultaneously. The plan worked to perfection. Crowds soon gathered near the points where the noises had originated, and bedlam reigned everywhere. Meanwhile the guilty ones had discreetly retired, and no one, except those in the secret, ever knew how the excitement started.

Like his predecessors Dr. Bancroft did some prowling around at night, and thus incurred the dislike of those whose consciences were not free from fear. He did this, however, only when there was some definite object in view. The excuse for such action lies in the fact that he often found it impossible to unearth viciousness by any other method. To-day, when every boy is directly under the guardianship of one teacher, the problem of discipline is far simpler.

Dr. Bancroft did not lay down many rules. The eight o'clock regulation was on the books, but was not, indeed could not be, strictly enforced, under conditions as they then existed. He made a standardized system for the imposition of absences and demerits, and failure to comply with the published restrictions was reported at once to parents of the boys concerned. It was one of his favorite maxims "that a boy cannot be bribed or frightened into tobacco abstinence"; but he nevertheless forbade smoking on the street, in the dormitories, and in "public places." It was not his policy, however, to lay much stress on the value of a detailed penal code.

In many respects the students under Dr. Bancroft were independent and strongly resented any interference with their liberty. In 1879, when a rule

was passed compelling landladies to make a weekly report as to the conduct of the boys in their houses, the *Phillipian* and the *Philomathean Mirror* joined in ridiculing and condemning the measure. In some cases a plainness of speech was used which recalls the days of Dr. Taylor. A correspondent, writing to the *Phillipian* in 1896 regarding a "graduation fee," said: —

> It is the arbitrary way in which the fee is imposed upon us that we object to, and it seems no more than right that the Faculty should give us some explanation if they have any.

In the same year, when the Faculty debarred five out of six candidates for the debating team, the *Phillipian* said editorially: —

> The Faculty have brought this state of things upon themselves. If they were anxious to have the debate take place, they could have advised the committee sooner. As it is now, the Faculty are in a large measure responsible for the failure of the debate.

When the question of a coöperative store was brought up before the student body, the project, which had received the approval of the Faculty, was voted down by the boys, who, in protest, held nocturnal gatherings, after which quantities of red paint were splashed in conspicuous places on prominent buildings. Dr. Bancroft's policy of *laissez faire* in such matters was in accordance with certain school traditions, but there was always danger that liberty might degenerate into license.

Dr. Bancroft was exceedingly skillful in his ability to feel the pulse of the school. In 1875 he writes: —

Fires and horns, which caused so much trouble last year, have been almost unknown.

In 1880 he detects signs of other evils: —

We have had much anxiety as to some indications of betting and gambling on the part of the boys, college vices which are difficult to handle.

Now and then, as in 1893, he states new difficulties as they arise: —

The increase in the size of the town, the multiplication of trains to and from Andover, and the introduction of the electric cars have made the discipline of the school more difficult. While I think a casual observer is very much impressed with the success of our methods, we feel very much our deficiencies, and lament that we cannot maintain a higher standard of self restraint and moral worthiness.

A year later he puts into no uncertain words his administrative creed, as applied to changed conditions:

To maintain the standards of proficiency with these large numbers is at once more easy and more difficult. To maintain the standards of deportment and decorum, of industry and moral tone, requires increasing vigilance and assiduity. The multiplication of details resulting from an addition of 300 pupils to less than 200 of twenty years ago is very large. The opportunities to escape immediate supervision are multiplied, and the school is forced to take on certain college features which remove it still further from the category of boarding-schools, family schools, and the like. The tendency at present in the new schools established is to move in another direction and to make the schools more nearly conventual. But Andover has made a success after another method, and it ought not to break with its traditions unless experi-

ence and the changed condition of our society and of our education make the demand urgent and plain. My present anxiety is to provide for the students protection against moral disorder, and to foster the Christian influences of the school and the surrounding community.

The coming of the trolley line made necessary some modification of the Principal's theories, but the logic behind them was not altered. Phillips boys were not to be kept sheltered and secluded from a wicked world without the walls; neither were they to be allowed to run deliberately into temptation. They were to be taught to stand on their own feet, to learn the lesson of "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control." Dr. Bancroft, even when the tension increased, never lost his reasonable view. He did not expect boys to be embryo angels, nor did he desire to be too severe on mere thoughtlessness or mischief-making. Bad boys were summarily dismissed; chronic offenders sooner or later met a well-deserved fate; but the process of purging the school was not carried out ostentatiously, and the victims were given no publicity. The students expelled by Dr. Taylor seldom forgave him; those sent away under Dr. Bancroft are often among the most loyal supporters of the Academy, because they recognize that the Principal acted for the real interests of the institution. "Banty fired me," said an old Andover boy some years ago, "but it woke me up, and was the best thing that ever happened to me"; and he signed his check for a large sum towards the Seminary purchase fund. Dr. Bancroft had the rare gift of being able to administer a reprimand or to in-

flict a punishment without losing the regard of the culprit.

Dr. Bancroft was an ordained clergyman and keenly alive to the religious needs of the boys, which he knew could be met only by religious influences wisely and continuously but often indirectly applied. He laid emphasis on conduct, but he did not neglect true inward conviction of a kind appropriate to a boy's stage of maturity. In 1876 he allowed boys, with the consent of their parents, to attend other churches than the Seminary Chapel; from that date on, Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics (the denominations represented by churches in Andover) were permitted to go regularly to services to which they were accustomed. The morning chapel requirement, however, was not relaxed. The so-called Monday morning "Biblicals" were continued, each instructor being required to occupy half an hour a week in drilling his eight o'clock class in Scripture study. Towards the close of the administration these "Biblicals" lost their original significance, and teachers, by tacit agreement, used the period for talks on literary topics, reading from periodicals, or comment on current events. The prayers which, under Dr. Taylor, had been held on Wednesday and Saturday noons, were quietly dropped, and the evening prayer-meetings, which at one time exercised a strong religious influence and to which many graduates still look back with gratitude, were diminished in number. These changes, however, did not involve a lessening of the interest in such matters. In 1888 Dr. Bancroft wrote: —

The religious life has been more active and penetrating, more controlling, than I have ever known before. The meetings of the Society of Inquiry have been numerously attended and well sustained. It has not been uncommon for a hundred boys to be present at the evening meeting on Sunday. The services in the Chapel on Sunday have been unusually attractive, and the boys have approached them in a better spirit.

The students were still obliged to attend church services twice on Sunday in the Seminary Chapel, where, although they were occasionally stirred by the eloquent sermons of Professor Harris, Professor Churchill, and Professor Tucker, they only too often listened to discourses from which they could hardly be expected to find much spiritual nutriment. Their attitude towards these sermons may be gathered from an occasional note in the *Phillipian*, such as that on November 16, 1878:—

Dr. Dexter preached in the Chapel on the 3d instant. If longevity [*sic*] and a multiplicity of words are the principal elements of a sermon, he should receive the unlimited admiration of the students.

Certain preachers who made a point of talking directly to young men were greeted with frank admiration; but the intricacies of theology did not arouse enthusiasm.

Phillips boys in those days had their fill of public speaking. At the Draper and Means contests the Academy Hall was packed to the very doors and windows, and, until the early "nineties," each class sent huge bouquets of flowers to those of its members who were competitors. The lyceum and the

lecture were still flourishing, and Andoverians heard many distinguished platform orators, including Joseph Cook, J. T. Stoddard, John B. Gough, Henry Ward Beecher, John Fiske, and others. Wendell Phillips's eloquent lecture on *Daniel O'Connell* has never been forgotten by those boys who listened to it. One memorable visit was that of Matthew Arnold, who was trained by Professor Churchill so that his voice could be heard more than thirty feet away. Andover residents still recall how the poet talking to his audience said with deep earnestness, "I shall never forget what Carlyle says of Emerson"; and then turned to his manuscript in order to quote the passage burned so vividly upon his mind. The "cads" cheered Arnold vociferously before his reading, but most of them slept peacefully in their benches through his remarks, and walked home in silence.

The boarding-house problem was for Dr. Bancroft a perpetual source of annoyance. In order to lodge and feed the boys properly, the Principal was compelled to rely chiefly on private enterprise. Especially difficult was the problem of furnishing food at reasonable rates to the Commons men. In 1885 he wrote: —

> Our *most pressing* want is a house for the accommodation of the boys who room in Commons and take the cheapest board. The most vexatious discipline in the Academy the past year has grown out of the insufficiency of the present arrangement as compared with other schools most like this. Boys who belong to us are likely to go elsewhere because our present provision for those who must live at least cost is so far behind the requirements of health, comfort, and self-respect. . . . The Faculty are agreed that our most urgent need is here.

Shortly after this the Clement House on School Street was remodeled as a Commons boarding-house, and the well-known Major William Marland was placed in charge. Students rooming in Commons were required to board at the "Major's," the fixed rate being, in 1887, three dollars a week. Major Marland and his wife ate with the boys and undoubtedly did their best to keep an orderly establishment.

The other eating-clubs and houses, some of them managed by active boys, still continued. The Shawsheen Club, located in the old Abbot House on Phillips Street, maintained a somewhat precarious existence until 1889. In 1893 a number of boarding-houses could be named: Ellis's, Blunt House, Brown's Café, Eastman's, Brick House, Cheever House, Hitchcock's, and Butterfield's. The usual student legends clustered around these "eating-joints," as they were called; stock stories of the pancakes used as "scalers," of the "baled hay" provided at breakfast in enormous quantities, of the steady deterioration in food quality as the term wore on, are told at every Commencement reunion. An entertaining account of a typical boarding-house, "Aunt Hattie's," is to be found in Lee J. Perrin's *My Three Years at Andover*.[1]

The fact that prices in some of the best of these establishments were very high often caused the "Doctor" some anxiety. In 1891, in the course of a discussion of the situation, he said: —

The inordinate increase in prices has already engaged the attention of the Trustees, and it will continue to tax

[1] This volume, written under the pseudonym of Ewer Struly, was published in 1908, by the Mayhew Publishing Company, Boston.

the best energies and best wisdom of all friends of the school. No method can be devised except to add to the endowments and equipments of the school, and to resist in any proper way the tendency to advance the rates for board and lodgings. The sumptuary regulations are difficult to manage, and especially so under a mixed system of open competition, sharp restriction, and endowed charity such as prevails here.

The increasing seriousness of this problem led the Principal, in 1893, to some further observations: —

The provision for boarding accommodations is very pressing. Prices remain very high and are likely to increase. The reputation for being an expensive school is very much to be deplored. The decline of the old family home for boys, and the rise of the Academy boarding house is not peculiar to Andover. Modern life has become too sumptuous and artificial, the competition too sharp, to admit of the simplicity and frugality of the earlier day. . . . The immediate danger is that the school will divide, as some of the great English schools were once divided, into a group of rich boys on the one hand and a group of poor boys on the other. In the English schools the poor boys were gradually crowded out. It is our present obligation to make it possible for persons of moderate means to get good accommodations at Andover at a moderate expense. We need a dining-hall for the express purpose of providing for a class which does not ask for charitable assistance and which cannot pay extravagant prices.

The Principal, with his usual acumen, had discovered a tendency which was likely to overthrow the traditional democracy of Phillips Academy. A few landladies, who were obviously not in the business for charity, were prepared to charge "all the traffic would bear," and, to many rich boys, a dollar or two

a week more for board was not a material consideration. Not until the school, with a dining-hall of its own, could keep down prices by open competition, was the problem solved to the satisfaction of the authorities.

An equally unfortunate state of affairs arose in connection with the lodging-house system. In these private establishments the managers, in accordance with an edict of the Trustees, were obliged to make regular reports concerning the absences and misdemeanors of their boys. In spite of this rule, however, discipline was in a few conspicuous cases much relaxed. If the housekeeper had no objection, smoking was allowed, — and the rent of the rooms was often so high as to counterbalance any instinctive prejudice against pipes and cigarettes. Here, then, congregated the boys who wanted to smoke away an idle hour, usually not the least lawless element in school. Undisturbed by the immediate proximity of Faculty guardians, daring spirits did almost what they pleased and certainly violated most rules with comparative impunity. In dealing with landladies of this type the utmost tact was required, and it was here that the "Doctor" showed himself to be a master diplomatist; he did not wish to incur their displeasure, and yet he was unwilling to allow them too much freedom from the normal school restrictions. In the end the situation was relieved by refusing sanction to all but the most reliable houses.

In the student "resorts," also, Dr. Bancroft was compelled to tolerate certain features which he personally disliked, but which he preferred to greater

evils. Such institutions as "Hinton's" and "Chap's" came to be a familiar and intrinsic part of Academy life. As far back as 1886 the *Phillipian* printed a half-jocose attack on Allen Hinton for trying to raise the price of ice-cream five cents a pint; and in 1887 it complained that he refused to advertise in school publications and even to pay admission to games. Hinton's popularity, however, survived these ephemeral attacks, and his farm off South Main Street continued to be a favorite gathering-place for the boys who, on hot spring nights, chose to risk the chance of a "cut" in order to get a plate of frozen pudding and to have a chat with Allen about the days "befo' the wa'." This sort of dissipation, as the Principal recognized, was innocuous, and he closed his eyes discreetly, even when he knew that the Latin Commons were nearly empty of students on an occasional warm June evening.

"Hatch's," which later became "Chap's," was easy of access to the boys on their way downtown, and soon came to be the great student rendezvous. Presided over by the picturesque Ovid Chapman, with his long gray beard, it had that rare aroma, so delightful to school and college undergraduates, of smoke and food and musty hangings properly blended. There the agents of clothing-houses congregated like harpies, ready to swoop down upon the lucky youngster with a "check from home" and sell him wearing apparel at war-time prices. As smoking was prohibited in the dormitories and cottages, "Chap's" was also a convenient place for buying tobacco, and the air was usually blue and foul. It was also a restaurant, where

light lunches and even elaborate beefsteak dinners could be procured when the boarding-house fare grew tame. No doubt rules were broken over and over again by the coterie who made "Chap's" their haunt; no doubt, also, many unsophisticated youths overspent their allowances, acquired a useless stock of banners, neckties, and shoes, and even injured their health in order to dwell in the atmosphere of school "romance." The Faculty, however, believed that, as conditions were then, it was best not to put the ban on "Chap's"; some of the teachers, therefore, hurried past in study hours lest they should inadvertently detect an indiscreet student emerging from the door, and they remained secretive when, long after ten o'clock, they could see as they passed by a score of night-owls smoking their bedtime pipes in defiance of authority. "Chap's" was far from being ideal; but the boys, while they were there, were in Andover, and thus partly under the scrutiny of the Principal; furthermore, there was nothing to offer as a substitute. The opening of the grill, and later of the Peabody House, eliminated "Chap's" with hardly a murmur from the boys.

Undoubtedly the most conspicuous feature of Dr. Bancroft's administration, so far as the undergraduate life is concerned, was its increasing complexity, especially through the development of "outside activities" or "extra-curriculum diversions." The Philomathean Society and the Society of Inquiry continued to exist, and, through limited periods, to prosper. To these, however, were added other interests. The *Phillipian*, started October 19, 1878, gave a chance for the

THE OLD CAMPUS IN 1890

THE OLD FIRE ENGINE

development of journalistic talent. The organization of Forum in 1892 made a formidable rival for "Philo." The growth of secret societies and their recognition by the Faculty effected a decided change in social conditions among the boys. Above all, the spread of organized athletics and the beginning of contests with Exeter and other outside schools brought in a new factor which gradually loomed larger and larger. The simple institution over which Dr. Pearson presided was marvelously altered after the passage of a hundred years.

The rivalry with Exeter, started in 1878, became soon very intense, and led, on two dramatic occasions, to a complete severing of relations between the schools. In the last ten years of the century Andover teams, with their professional coaches and the prestige of many victories behind them, were competent to hold their own with the teams of the smaller colleges, and even, in some unforgotten contests, with Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. The emphasis laid on athletics was altogether too great, and games were taken too seriously. Those were the days when men on the baseball team came to afternoon recitations in their athletic suits, and rushed to the diamond as soon as classes were over. The spirit of "victory at any cost" was abroad in the school, and the strain on the days of the annual contests was oppressive. When the game was held at Exeter, the Andover boys went there by special train and marched through the rival town to the field, giving cheers and singing songs of defiance. At the game itself, pandemonium seemed to have broken loose. From the first play until the

last there was a steady succession of songs and shouts; cries of triumph from one side were followed by cheers of reassurance from the other; and when victory was established, the winning school did its snake dance across the playing-field.

It was not long before "celebrations" were permitted as the fitting reward for success. After a victory the students usually met at "Chap's" about seven o'clock, attired in night-shirts, or pajamas, and bearing torches distributed for the occasion; from there, headed by a band and by the members of the team drawn in a barge, they marched noisily about the town. The procession always passed by Abbot Academy, where cheers were given for the "Fem-Sems," who had, of course, hung out banners from their windows. It halted, too, at the homes of popular teachers, who were called upon for appropriate "remarks." The tramping over, the boys assembled around a huge bonfire which, since early evening, had been piling up on the Old Campus; there every member of the team, the coach, and the manager each had his say, and the boys yelled until their throats were raw and aching. On these nights all restrictions as to smoking on the Campus were removed, and cigarettes and cigars glowed everywhere.

One interesting "celebration" came in the spring of 1888, when, after the nine, chiefly through the remarkable pitching of "Al" Stearns, had defeated the "Beacons" of Boston, 5–4, an enthusiastic crowd called upon the "Doctor" for a speech. After referring gracefully to the victory, he spoke of two recent additions to the population of Andover Hill, and the

boys, at his request, gave "three times three" for Coy *minimus* and Hincks *minima*. Coy *minimus* was to be the redoubtable "Ted" Coy, captain and fullback on the Yale team in 1911.

Class spirit, which was especially strong under the "Doctor," displayed itself in various ingenious ways. In 1883, in spite of the protest of a disappointed minority, the Seniors made themselves conspicuous by wearing Turkish fezzes. In 1886 the Seniors wore silk hats and carried canes. In 1896 the graduating class tried the experiment of wearing caps and gowns, but the plan was not altogether successful and has not since been revived. Cane rushes between the two lower classes were often held, instigated and engineered by the upper classmen. As early as 1879 there was an informal clash between the Juniors and the Middlers, in the course of which much blood flowed. In the fall of 1886 there was a spectacular rush between '87 and '88, in which '87 won by ten hands to six. In 1887, owing to some warnings by the Faculty, the contest was held on the Punchard Campus, and '89, after defeating '90, proceeded to serenade Abbot Academy. In 1888 the cane rush was given official sanction by the presence of Mr. Pettee, who acted as arbiter; it was held on Saturday afternoon before a large crowd of spectators, '90 winning by a score of 21 to 14. Until 1891 such rushes were held, but they were finally discontinued on the ground that the strain was too exhausting for the younger boys.

Another now forgotten custom was the class sleigh ride and dinner, at which members of the Faculty were usually present as invited guests. The class, after

starting out in roomy barges in the midst of a volley of snowballs from the remainder of the school, drove to some inn several miles away; there a banquet was served, followed by a long programme of speeches, after which came the somewhat dismal journey back to Andover Hill. On January 25, 1887, the Seniors, in two huge sleighs, each holding twenty boys, went over the road to Lowell, where they were joined by Dr. Bancroft and Professor Coy, who had wisely taken the train. The party returned with the temperature at thirty degrees below zero.

As a substitute for the cane rush an annual baseball game between Middlers and Junior Middlers became very popular, and resulted in unrestrained enthusiasm. When '98 won from '97 by a score of 19 to 11, the victorious class held a miniature "celebration," at which guns were discharged in defiance of the constabulary; one little chap was arrested, and there was a vigorous street altercation between the class and the "cop." At these games the players were assailed with mud, vegetables, and weapons of every conceivable kind. At the game between '98 and '99 in 1897 cannons were placed near first and third bases, bass drums were beaten, cymbals were clashed, horns were blown, and revolvers were shot off. Each class had purchased its own suits just for this game at a cost of nearly $200, and one class used over $100 worth of cannon crackers. In 1899 the class of 1900 defeated '01 by a score of 29 to 26. In the course of the evening excitement, a false fire alarm was rung in and a government mail box was blown up. These unfortunate incidents, together with the fact that the class games

were drawing undesirable crowds of "muckers" to the Hill, led to the abandonment of the contests.

The school fire department was still continued with an elaborate organization consisting of a foreman, six men at the hose, four at the suction hose, and four at the brakes, besides others who, in case of need, volunteered their services. To every conflagration in the town or its vicinity this apparatus was taken, often to the disgust of the village fathers, for the firefighters were frequently careless about the direction in which the stream was thrown, and many an innocent bystander was deluged. When the town water system was built, the necessity for a school engine disappeared, and the apparatus was stored in a convenient barn.

Town and gown in Andover have usually dwelt together in amity, each being of obvious advantage to the other's happiness. Now and then, however, friction developed. The most frequent cause of trouble at this period was the regulation of coasting, or "bobsledding," on the town thoroughfares, especially School and Phillips Streets, where the grades were steep and where the boys resorted in large numbers on evenings when enough ice had formed to make the sport exciting. In 1881 the Selectmen, irritated by the complaints of one or two staid citizens, passed somewhat hastily a measure forbidding coasting on any Andover street. On the following Saturday night some eight or ten daring spirits, who had continued to coast in defiance of the law, were arrested, haled to court, and fined a dollar each. The *Phillipian*, manifestly belligerent, published in its next issue an edi-

torial on the conduct of the Chief of Police, Mr. Howarth, in the course of which it said: —

> He is such a completely idiotic and stupid nonentity, even when he is sober, that he would fail to have the penetration to discover the application did we not drive our remarks home.

A few days later the boys held a large and noisy meeting, and resolved in revenge to withdraw all patronage from the merchants of Andover. This drastic action soon brought the citizens to terms, and, at the annual town meeting, the voters, on the motion of Warren F. Draper, annulled the obnoxious by-law.

Incidents of this kind — and there are many others — are told by alumni at every Commencement gathering. Those who are familiar with the annals of colleges during the "seventies" and "eighties" know that it was an age of vandalism and rough practical joking. It is to be said for the Phillips boys that they rarely showed deliberate malice. It was regularly the custom, of course, to decorate the Commons dormitories with numerals and school emblems, and to cover the fences with the scores of recent games. On the nights of celebrations no outhouse or gate was safe without a guard. In 1896, during the exercises connected with the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the town, the school acquired some undesirable notoriety through hoodlums who, on one or two dark evenings, tore down signs, painted sidewalks with unedifying inscriptions, and concluded by burning a fence belonging to the Churchill House. The offenders, however,

were soon apprehended, and the school as a whole condemned the acts.

"Stacking rooms" in the Commons was a favorite diversion for student bullies. In 1890, while the Seniors were having their sleigh ride, the Middlers went systematically to work to stack their furniture throughout the dormitories, and no small commotion resulted when the Seniors, cold and tired, returned to find their rooms in a state of utter confusion. This exploit also was discountenanced by the remainder of the student body, and resulted in a contrite apology from the Middle class.

The class of 1875 achieved fame by stealing Professor Coy's copy of Cicero and cremating it on the Campus. The ashes were put in a glass jar labeled "M. Tulli Ciceronis, Cato Major de Senectute," and sealed with red wax. This remained for years in the Academy library, apparently preserved as a relic of value.

A typical example of undergraduate humor took place on one occasion when Dr. Bancroft explained one morning at chapel that a comet would be visible on the following morning, and advised the students to get up early enough to see it. They all, of course, crawled out of bed at four o'clock, perched themselves on the ridgepoles of their houses, and, at a given signal, made a hideous noise. Dr. Bancroft opened his remarks in chapel two or three hours later by saying, "Boys will be fools; do what you may, boys will be fools."

In presidential years the students organized their own political companies. In 1880, for instance, the

"Garfield and Arthur Battalion" was one hundred and fifty strong; the members wore red Turkish hats, white cutaway jackets trimmed with red, white leggings, and carried swinging torches. They marched in processions in several cities. In 1888 the Democrats organized the "Cleveland Cadets," secured picturesque uniforms, and marched with a similar company from the town in an elaborate torchlight parade. Two weeks later the Republican Club of the Academy, not to be outdone, held a rival celebration. The excitement in this particular year was so great that much disorder ensued; fortunately, however, attention was diverted by the approaching football game, and Harrison and Morton were elected without any undue hilarity.

The Spanish War naturally did not cause as much disturbance in the school as the Civil War had done, but the boys, nevertheless, showed some military ardor. A mass meeting held April 25, 1898, nearly ended in a riot because of a speech by an instructor, who condemned American policy in no uncertain terms. At a flag-raising which took place at Brechin Hall on June 1, Professor George Harris delivered an address, and Professor Churchill read Mrs. Stowe's *Banner Hymn*, which had been written for a similar occasion twenty-five years before.

The days of Dr. Bancroft are too near our own time to make it possible to recount the anecdotes which are common talk around the fireside whenever Phillips alumni meet. Some of them, like the tale of the student who dressed up as a girl and went with the Abbot young ladies on a sleigh ride, can be told

properly only by those who participated in them. Others, like the classic yarn of McDuffee's stove which wandered mysteriously from place to place on the Campus, have become part of school tradition. If one or two of the instructors would consent to write their reminiscences, they would be entertaining reading. It is the men who lived through those years who can best transmit their spirit and make them seem once more alive to Andover men of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF AN ERA

Dr. Bancroft seems to me to have been, when looked at from all standpoints, an ideal head of Phillips Academy. He embodied its traditions; in his alert personality he expressed its present activities; and in his strivings he foreshadowed its future usefulness, — in a word, he was the Academy.

Charles Moore, '74.

It was Dr. Bancroft's boast that the school over which he presided was, like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, a thoroughly national institution. Before his administration closed, it was possible to prove that there was hardly a city in the United States in which an Andover man could not be found. In his dormitory on Andover Hill a New Yorker might live with a Californian or a Texan, and make many friends from beyond the Rockies. As the boys thus rubbed shoulders with one another, provincial prejudices disappeared, local dialects were forgotten, sectional animosities were eradicated; in a word, New Englanders, Southerners, and Westerners learned to know and respect men from other districts than their own and acquired that broad tolerance which is necessary to the true American spirit.

In 1874, of the 237 boys registered, 91, or about 38 per cent, were from Massachusetts. Ten years later, when the Principal for the first time published the representation of his pupils in the catalogue, 197 students, or more than 66 per cent, were from outside

the Commonwealth. In 1901, Dr. Bancroft's last year, the number from Massachusetts had diminished to only 122 out of 407, or approximately 30 per cent. These statistics, showing, as they do, a progressive development, require no comment.

From time to time special delegations of foreigners, especially Chinese, would appear in Phillips Academy, where they usually made brilliant records. The story is told of one Chinaman in particular who, through carelessness, fell below in his studies. The poor report was sent, in accordance with instructions, to his Government, and the reply came back at once, "Send him home, and we will behead him." Needless to say, this warning accomplished its purpose.

In 1884, also, Dr. Bancroft thought it wise to publish the names of graduates who had been admitted to college in the previous autumn, and this custom has been continued ever since. Of the boys who left Andover in 1883, 26 went to Yale, 13 to Harvard, and 15 to various other institutions. Of the members of the class of 1894, 74 chose Yale, — either Classical or Sheffield Scientific, — 27 Harvard, and 24 other colleges. In 1900, 37 Andover men entered Yale, 24 Sheffield Scientific School, 26 Harvard, and 37 other colleges, — nineteen separate institutions in all being represented in the list of choices. The Yale tradition still remained powerful, so powerful that a good majority of the graduates in any given year usually selected New Haven; but Phillips Academy, after 1884 at any rate, prepared boys for any higher institution. The old impression that Andover is almost

exclusively a fitting school for Yale has been for many years entirely erroneous.

Dr. Bancroft was engaged heart and soul in the matter of preserving a high standard of scholarship. Realizing the importance of prizes in stimulating the latent ambitions of boys, he made vigorous and successful efforts to secure endowments for this purpose; and he also originated the plan of printing the names of winners in the school catalogue. In 1893 he published also a list of those Seniors who took "final honors" in special courses and subjects. Since 1884 there has been no reason to question the quality of the work done in college by the average graduate of Phillips Academy.

From 1875 until 1900 the cost of living, and consequently the cost of education, increased enormously. In order to balance receipts and expenditures the Trustees were forced, much against their wills, to raise the price of tuition. After some experiments the rate was fixed in 1884 at $24 for the fall term, and $18 for the winter and spring terms. Other increases were made in 1891 and 1898, and finally, on February 22, 1902, an annual charge of $150 was established. In 1895 a graduation fee of $7 was made a requirement of every candidate for a diploma.

We cannot leave Dr. Bancroft's administration without saying a word regarding his relations with the Board of Trustees. It has been said by one who knew the Principal intimately that no one ever appreciated while he was alive the annoying difficulties which he confronted. When his projects were per-

fected in his own mind, it was irksome for him to have to delay in order to satisfy men of a less sanguine temperament. Dr. Taylor had absolutely dominated his Trustees; Dr. Bancroft was not ambitious to play the part of despot, but he soon showed himself to be a pillar of strength for that body. His was the master will; but he had to contend at different times with diverse phases of inertia, conservatism, and distrust. He often himself expressed surprise that he was ever able to bring unity out of a discord which seemed unmanageable.

Many of the Trustees, however, were men well equipped for guiding a great school. President Seth Sweetser, who died March 24, 1878, was succeeded by the Honorable Alpheus Hardy [1] (1815–1887), of Boston, who had been on the Board since 1858. At his resignation in 1885 his place as President was taken by the Reverend Daniel Taggart Fiske [2] (1819–1903), of Newburyport, who had served as Trustee

[1] Alpheus Hardy was born in Chatham, Massachusetts, and attended Phillips Academy, but, because of a physical breakdown, was obliged to go into business. As a shipping merchant in Boston he was notably successful, being also a director in several corporations and trustee of the great Sears estate. He was a Trustee of Amherst College and, at one time, a member of the State Senate. He died of blood-poisoning, August 7, 1887.

[2] Daniel T. Fiske, born at Shelburne, Massachusetts, graduated from Amherst College in 1842 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1846, and was ordained in 1847. From that date until 1887 he was pastor of the Belleville Church in Newburyport. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Amherst in 1862. Dr. Fiske died January 15, 1903, having been pastor emeritus for sixteen years after his resignation. As President of the Trustees he was keenly interested in the theological controversies then rife in Andover Seminary, and took a prominent part on the side of the defense in the so-called "heresy trials" of that period.

since 1861, and who was to be President until October 16, 1899, when, at the age of eighty, he withdrew from the Board. In 1900 Judge Robert Roberts Bishop [1] (1834–1909), who had been made a Trustee in 1881, was chosen President, and was holding that position when Dr. Bancroft died.

The growing responsibility of the treasurership had, since 1868, been borne faithfully and capably by Edward Taylor; but he resigned on June 10, 1889, although he continued to act as Trustee until his death in 1893. In his place the members selected Alpheus Holmes Hardy [2] (1840–), a retired merchant, who had, in 1885, taken his father's seat upon the Board. Mr. Hardy retained this office until August 1, 1901.

Of the other men who made up the Board during Dr. Bancroft's time, several had already made their marks in different fields. Honorable Joseph Samuel Ropes [3] (1818–1903), a Trustee for twenty-three

[1] Robert R. Bishop was born at Medfield, Massachusetts, and graduated from Phillips Academy in 1854. After a course of study in Harvard Law School, he began practice in Boston, where he shortly became a leader of the bar. He served as State Senator, and as President of the Senate, and was finally appointed a Judge of the Superior Court, a post for which he was admirably equipped. He was an able orator, and made excellent addresses on several occasions at Andover.

[2] Alpheus H. Hardy was born in Boston, the son of the Honorable Alpheus Hardy, graduated from Phillips Academy in 1857 and from Harvard College in 1861, and became an importer of India goods. He was later entrusted with the management of several large estates in Boston and vicinity, and was for many years Treasurer of Wellesley College.

[3] Joseph S. Ropes, after studying in this country and in Russia, entered the mercantile business, and also served as Representative and Senator in the Massachusetts General Court. He died in Norwich, Connecticut, March 14, 1903.

years from 1874 to 1897, had an influential voice in deliberations; the Reverend Alexander McKenzie[1] (1830–1914) was on the Board for thirty-four years, from 1876 until his resignation, April 5, 1910; President Franklin Carter[2] (1837–), of Williams College, became a Trustee in 1881 and served until 1902; the Honorable Horace Fairbanks[3] (1820–88) was on the Board for the two years before his death; and the Reverend James Gardiner Vose[4] (1830–1908), an eminent clergyman of Providence, Rhode Island, was a Trustee from 1886 until he died. Mr. George Brown Knapp, the oldest member of the present Board, was chosen in 1899, as was also Professor James Hardy Ropes, of Harvard University. Professor Ropes was the first of a group of young men who, as a consequence of the growing feeling that the younger alumni ought to be represented, were given their share in the government of Phillips Acad-

[1] Alexander McKenzie graduated from Phillips Academy in 1855, from Harvard in 1859, and, after 1867, was pastor of the First Church, Congregational, of Cambridge. He won a wide reputation as a brilliant preacher, his rapid utterance and impetuous delivery being especially remarkable. At the Centennial Celebration of 1878 he delivered the Oration. Dr. McKenzie received several honorary degrees. He died at his home in Cambridge, August 7, 1914.

[2] Franklin Carter graduated from Phillips Academy in 1855, and from Williams in 1862. After several years as professor in Williams and in Yale, he was elected President of Williams College, from which position he resigned in 1904.

[3] Horace Fairbanks, also a Phillips graduate, made a fortune as a manufacturer in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and became Governor of that State. He died in New York City, March 17, 1888.

[4] James G. Vose, a graduate of Phillips Academy in 1847 and of Yale in 1851, was ordained at Amherst in 1857. For ten years Professor of English Literature at Amherst College, he was settled in 1866 as pastor of the Beneficent Church in Providence, Rhode Island, where he remained until his death, March 13, 1908.

emy, to the very great advantage of the school. The withdrawal in 1900 of the Reverend Joshua Wyman Wellman [1] (1821–1915) and the death in 1899 of Theodore Moody Osborne (1849–99) created two vacancies, which were filled, on February 8, 1901, by the election of two new Trustees, Mr. Clarence Morgan and Mr. James Cowan Sawyer, the first of whom was only thirty-one and the second but twenty-eight. Later in the year Mr. Sawyer took Mr. Alpheus H. Hardy's place as Treasurer of the Board. Since that date the new Trustees have been selected almost uniformly from the younger alumni, and have been men possessing an intimate acquaintance with Phillips Academy and its peculiar problems.

The notorious theological controversy which, in 1886 and 1887, so disturbed the peace of Andover Hill had no appreciable immediate effect on Phillips Academy, except in so far as it diverted the attention of the Trustees from the affairs of the school. The charges against five of the ablest Seminary professors — Smyth, Tucker, Churchill, Harris, and Hincks — were on the ground that the teachings and writings of these eminent scholars were "not in harmony with sound doctrine as expressed in the Creed which the Founders and Donors of this institution [Andover Theological Seminary] made the unalterable condition of the gifts which were com-

[1] Dr. Wellman, who graduated from Dartmouth in 1846, was ordained in 1851, and was successively pastor at East Derry, New Hampshire, Newton, and Malden. After 1883 he had no settled parish. He received honorary degrees from Olivet and Dartmouth. He was elected a Trustee of Phillips Academy in 1870.

mitted in sacred trust to this Board." The subsequent proceedings proved the truth of Emerson's remark that "Men are better than their theology." The attack was supported by only one member of the Board of Trustees, together with a group of Seminary alumni. When the case was referred to the Board of Visitors, four of the professors were completely exonerated, but the fifth, Professor Egbert C. Smyth, was declared to be removed from his office as Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History. He, however, as was his right, appealed at once to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, which body, after some years, referred the question, on technical grounds, back to the Visitors. Many of the original animosities having cooled in the meantime, the Visitors were quite willing to leave Professor Smyth in office, and he kept his place as professor until his death. Dr. Bancroft, in expressing his opinion on the points at issue, said, with his usual breadth of view: —

> I . . . find that these professors deserve for their industry, their zeal, their scholarship, their piety, not the disfranchisement and suspicion of the friends of the Seminary and of sacred learning, but encouragement, sympathy, and approval.

One feature of the second half of Dr. Bancroft's administration was the spread of alumni organizations. The first regular dinner of the Alumni Association of Phillips Academy was held on Wednesday, March 24, 1886, at the Parker House in Boston, with over two hundred and fifty graduates present. The New York Association gave its first dinner on March

31, 1891, at the Hotel Brunswick. Early in the following year a Chicago Association was also formed. It was during this period that a deliberate effort was begun to induce alumni to return in force at Commencement time. Dr. Bancroft succeeded in arousing among the graduates a spirit of loyalty to Phillips Academy, and a desire to further its interests.

It has been estimated that over ninety-six hundred students were, at one time or another, under Dr. Bancroft's jurisdiction at Phillips Academy. A very large proportion of these men are still alive, with much of their life-work yet to do. It would be invidious then, to select from their number any special names of those who have won distinction. In practically every field, — law, medicine, education, business, diplomacy, politics, journalism, literature, and religion, — there are Andover men who stand in the front rank of their respective callings. It will remain for the future historian to judge the dead, and to make a list of eminent alumni under Dr. Bancroft.

Some events of particular importance in the Principal's life still remain to be spoken of. By a strange coincidence one of his children was born on April 21, 1878, exactly one hundred years after the signing of the Constitution of Phillips Academy. The boys, when they heard of the happy event, promptly assembled, sent Dr. Bancroft a centennial bouquet, and voted that the child should be christened Phillips. In the summer of 1880 the Principal and all his children were ill of diphtheria, and one boy, Arthur, died. So exhausted was Dr. Bancroft from his work in the following winter that he was given a

vacation by the Trustees, and Mr. Merrill served for some weeks as Acting Principal.

On June 12, 1888, Dr. Bancroft, at the solicitation of the Trustees, accepted a leave of absence and was reluctantly persuaded to take a gift of $1000 in addition to his salary. He would not sail, however, until December 29, at a time when he was sure that the school was well started. During his absence Professor Coy was Acting Principal, Professor Comstock, Dean of the Classical Department, and Professor Graves, Dean of the English Department. This group of teachers, the famous "triumvirate," led chapel in turn and sat together on the platform, managing the school in committee. The results were not altogether fortunate, for the discipline of the Academy was so far impaired that, before June arrived, an unusually large number of students had been rusticated or expelled.

Relations between Dr. Bancroft and Professors Coy and Comstock were, after this year, never quite so intimate as they had been before. It was not long, however, before the situation was relieved by the announcement in June, 1892, that Professor Coy had resigned in order to become Principal of the newly-founded Hotchkiss School in Connecticut, and that he would be accompanied by Professor Comstock. For nearly twenty years these two great teachers had been connected with Phillips Academy, and had gained for themselves a reputation almost as widespread as Dr. Bancroft's. An editorial in the *Phillipian* for March 23, 1892, spoke with regret of the rumored resignations: —

Much of the renown which our school has obtained is due to the ability and efforts of these two teachers. . . . We do not know the causes which have led to their decision, but we are sure that the money motive has no place among them. Perhaps the meager equipment of the Academy during recent years, the press of work, and the small share which they have had in the government of the school have contributed towards the sum of causes.

Many intelligent citizens of Andover took it for granted that the Academy would inevitably decline with Coy and Comstock no longer on the Faculty. As a matter of fact, however, it was only a year or two before Dr. Bancroft, an unerring judge of men, was able to boast that he had fully compensated for their loss by adding to his staff two teachers who, as the future was to show, were to display ability equal to that of their predecessors. Professor Allen R. Benner and Professor Charles H. Forbes, who to-day hold the chairs of Greek and Latin respectively, have seen a longer service in Phillips Academy than either Comstock or Coy. Dr. Bancroft had the laugh on his critics, who believed that he could not succeed without the "triumvirate" to back him.

On May 20, 1896, the town of Andover celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and Dr. Bancroft, whose management of the Academy Centennial had not been forgotten, acted as Chairman of the General Committee. Into the excessive labor involved he threw himself with unreserved enthusiasm, with the result that the programme was carried out with gratifying punctuality and success.

On March 29, 1898, Mrs. Bancroft, who had been

for some years in feeble health, died. She was a quiet, unostentatious lady, with a generosity which led her to assist every one whom she knew to be in distress. Her death was a crushing blow to Dr. Bancroft, who was himself suffering from a malady which was gradually undermining his strength. In October, 1898, the Trustees allowed him another opportunity to recuperate, and he once more sailed for Europe, leaving Professor Graves in charge of the school; he gained little real relief, however, and when he returned in March, 1899, he seemed much less active. His former elastic step was not so springy, his quick mind had lost some of its alertness. During the ensuing months he kept doggedly at his daily task, but his control of matters was more lax, and the Academy, while never in danger of a crisis, missed the firm hand which had for so long directed its course. The value of the efficient Faculty which he had gathered around him was now evident in the smoothness with which the schedule continued to be carried out. During the summer of 1901 Dr. Bancroft, restless and exhausted, once more went abroad. On his return he rapidly declined, and was obliged to give up his walks to his office. On Friday, October 4, 1901, he died.

Private services were held in the home on Chapel Avenue which he had occupied since 1892. The public funeral took place on Monday, October 7, in the Stone Chapel. Twelve of the students acted as bearers, and the cortège was escorted by the entire undergraduate body, the President of the school acting as Chief Marshal. The Chapel exercises were

conducted by President Tucker, of Dartmouth College, and a committal service was read by Dr. John Phelps Taylor. Dr. Bancroft was buried in the beautiful cemetery on Andover Hill, where Dr. Samuel H. Taylor had been laid to rest over thirty years before. In 1905 a granite monument, the gift of his pupils, was erected over his grave.

Resolutions of respect and honor to the dead Principal were passed by many organizations, and messages of condolence came from his "old boys" the country over. Of all the expressions of affection and recognition not one was more genuinely sincere than that voiced officially by his colleagues on the Board of Trustees: —

> After many years of distinguished service he rests from his labors. His administration of the interests of the Academy has been eminently successful. By large ability and discretion he so fulfilled the varied duties of his office that he readily commanded the confidence of those associated with him, and the respect and grateful affection of the thousands of boys who have been under his care. He has kept the school in its high place before the colleges and the world. He will always and everywhere be named with honor.
>
> Beyond all which was official, he has endeared himself to those who have stood with him by his fine qualities of heart, his constant courage and patience, his cheerfulness and hopefulness, and the full measure of his friendliness.
>
> Every thought of him is pleasant. His work will abide and his memory be an encouragement to fidelity. He has gained the blessing which belongs to him who has lived in the love of God and the service of men.

In the course of his career Dr. Bancroft received many honors which, in several cases, were the direct

reward of his success at Phillips Academy. In 1874 the University of the State of New York made him a Doctor of Philosophy, by which title he soon came to be familiarly known. Williams College in 1891 gave him the degree of Doctor of Letters, and Yale, in 1892, added to it the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1897 he was made a Trustee of Dartmouth College. With scholars like Professor Goodwin, Professor Kittredge, President Harper of Chicago, and Dean West of Princeton, he served as a member of the "Committee of Twelve" appointed by the American Philological Association, in defense of the Greek language. He was constantly being called upon for addresses on educational topics. As an authority on secondary education he had a national fame, although, with the little leisure at his disposal, he was unable to publish as much as he desired.

His work in the field of education, however, represents only a portion of his activity. Unlike Dr. Samuel H. Taylor, Dr. Bancroft was a practical man of affairs. "Had Dr. Bancroft been a business man he would have become a millionaire," said a prominent manufacturer who knew him well. He was a director of the Andover National Bank and of the Merrimack Insurance Company, and a trustee of the State Hospital at Tewksbury. He added to his responsibilities by consenting to act as trustee of various private estates, which he managed shrewdly and carefully. In town deliberations he was always a leader, whose advice and assistance was sought and whose words were heard attentively. He was Andover's most respected citizen.

It was this many-sided and compendious nature that was the "Doctor's" chief distinction. In reply to a warning against overwork he once said: —

I promised myself years ago that I would never fossilize as nothing but a schoolmaster; so, as I am a "reverend," I marry a couple once in a while, and, as an interested civilian, I sit as Trustee of a bank, and of a college or seminary. You see I am strictly in it.

It was this never-ceasing nervous necessity for action which eventually wore him out. His best photograph shows him at his desk, surrounded by letters and pamphlets. Like most busy men, too, he was seldom so much occupied with the countless routine duties of his position that he was not able to discuss a petty matter with a landlady or to argue with a persistent teacher over an absurd question of discipline which ought never to have been brought to his notice. Idleness was incompatible with his temperament. Even in his last days, when he was too feeble to take a seat at this desk, he would lie on a couch in the familiar north room in the Treasurer's office, in order to keep a sharp eye on what was going on. His sense of responsibility never left him. Once, when one of his pupils remonstrated with him concerning the methods which he had used in detecting the perpetrator of a rather serious offense, Dr. Bancroft, in a voice evidently full of deep emotion, said: —

You will do almost anything to find out what is going on when you have to account for the character of three hundred boys to parents who are more than anxious that they should do the right thing here, and hereafter become upright men.

Dr. Bancroft had also an undisguised and never-failing sense of humor. Those who were privileged to know him intimately have applied to him Shakspere's words, —

> A merrier man
> Within the limit of becoming mirth,
> I never spent an hour's talk withal.

When his colleagues entered his office, he often greeted them with a twinkle in his eye and a suppressed chuckle, "I've got a new story." He used to tell with glee of the time when he called up a boy one Monday morning and said, "You were not at Chapel yesterday." "No; I went to the Free Church." "Oh, who preached there?" "I sat back; I did n't get his name." "Well, what was the text?" "I don't remember his text." "Well, what was his sermon?" "Oh, it was a very good talk, but I don't just remember what it was about." "Well, what did he look like?" "I don't remember what he looked like." "What an unfortunate memory! It was I who preached." Stories like this often made a hard day's work endurable.

The Principal's memory for faces and names was little short of astounding. Seldom did one of his "old boys," no matter how changed by time or the strain of business cares, enter his office without being greeted immediately by name; and the recognition was usually followed by some reminiscence of the student's career in school. He was fond of probing into family relationships, and he knew the ramifications of Andover genealogy by heart. Often in Faculty meeting he would hold up a discussion by giving in detail a

list of a boy's sisters and cousins and aunts until the teachers were overwhelmed by the mass of information at his disposal. His knowledge of the home conditions of some youngsters led the "Doctor" sometimes to be lenient when his colleagues wanted him to be strict; but he always had a justifiable reason tucked away in his capacious mind.

Dr. Bancroft was a thoroughly good and a genuinely religious man. His unselfishness was very frequently a cause of irritation to friends who were anxious to see that he lacked none of the comforts of life. Even to the end his time and his purse were at the disposal of the least deserving beggar, and he saved nothing out of his salary. His religion was not mystical, but practical. It was in his character to love life and its opportunities, and to scorn that philosophy which looks upon earth simply as a somewhat painful place preparatory for a finer state beyond the grave. In his letter to his Dartmouth classmates, at the time of their fortieth reunion in 1900, he sounded this note of optimism, although he himself knew then that his days were numbered: —

> Life is worth living in a much wider and deeper sense than I imagined when I was in college. I did not know how much happiness there was in it. I hope I have got a little past the drudgery of duty into the enjoyment of the whole complex of motives and activities, which gather themselves up into pursuits which are absorbing and satisfying. Religion seems to be an element in life, and not a separate department of it.

It is probably still too early to make a final estimate of the influence of Dr. Bancroft upon the Academy

which he loved. A century from now the historian will be able to get a clearer perspective, to separate what is essential and permanent from what is unimportant and ephemeral. We to-day, however, can see that his prescience was extraordinary, and that in an unassuming way he was continually planning a future of immense possibilities for his school. In carrying out his designs he was not hasty or impulsive; he recognized that —

> The wisdom of mankind creeps slowly on,
> Subject to every doubt that can retard
> Or fling it back upon an earlier time.

It is true that Phillips Academy, while he was in charge of it, grew rapidly; but the expansion was natural, not forced, and it was merely a legitimate extension of ideas which must have been somewhat in the minds of the Founders. It is significant, also, that none of his work has had to be undone by his successor. In several cases, indeed, he barely suggested schemes which Dr. Stearns has been glad to put into operation, because they were based upon sound principles. Dr. Bancroft needs no formal eulogy. Even those who never knew him, who are compelled to judge him simply by what he accomplished, feel that his spirit is still alive; and they love to think of him in the words of Lowell's lines on Dr. Channing, —

> Thou art not idle; in thy higher sphere
> Thy spirit bends itself to loving tasks,
> And strength to perfect what it dreamed of here
> Is all the crown and glory that it asks.

CHAPTER XXI

STUDENT SOCIETIES AND ENTERPRISES

Every age has its pleasures, its style of wit, and its own ways.

During the early years of Phillips Academy there seems to have been little need for student societies, and conditions were probably not favorable to their formation. The paternalism of the Principal was so strict that the boys enjoyed almost no liberty; consequently they lacked initiative and showed no inclination to group themselves in organizations. Furthermore, there was in many sections of the country a prejudice against anything savoring of a secret fraternity. For these reasons, and others which are less definitely known, we hear of no student society until the administration of John Adams. William Person in 1814 speaks often of a "Moral Society," of which he was a member. This was evidently identical with a "Society for the Promotion of Good Morals," to which Sereno T. Abbot was admitted in 1827. Of the aims, the conduct, and the history of this organization nothing can be learned. We know also that young Abbot in 1827 was elected to the "Musical Society of Phillips Academy," but nothing can be discovered regarding this society except its motto, — "Deo laudes canere bonum, dulce, et decorum est."

The first society concerning which any information has been accumulated is the Social Fraternity, which met, apparently for the first time, on July 22, 1817.

It was originally secret, for mention is made in the *Records* of certain "peculiar signs" employed by the members. There were three officers: a Master of Ceremonies, a Master of Symbols (frequently spelled *cymbals* and *simbols*), and a "Lampadum Curator." Oliver Wendell Holmes once said of it that it was "secret and literary, and that the ceremony of initiation was calculated to impress a youthful imagination." From the motto, — "Ad excolendam declamandi et bene scribendi artem," — it may be deduced that the society had high aims; indeed, the revised constitution of 1829 mentions, as the chief object, "mutual improvement in the following branches of English literature, viz., Composition, Criticism, and Extemporaneous Debates." Some attempt was made at intervals to encourage the writing of Greek and Latin poems. Members, who were regularly Seniors, were chosen from the Middle class at the close of each year. The fraternity maintained a small but select library, open to members only. It usually held an Exhibition during the spring term; in 1827 the programme consisted of eleven numbers, including an essay on *Novel Reading*, a poem on *Intemperance*, and a "dispute," — "Is Force or Beauty more Desirable in Writing?"

In the autumn of 1824 Horatio B. Hackett, aggrieved because, not being a Senior, he was denied admission to the Social Fraternity, induced three of his classmates, Ray Palmer, Jonathan French Stearns, and William Newell, to join him in forming a new society which, after a constitution had been framed, met for organization on January 5, 1825. The purpose

of this Philomathean Society was stated in the preamble of the constitution to be "mutual improvement." It was agreed that the transactions should be kept secret, and that meetings should be held every Wednesday night. The impressive initiation ceremony has been described by Dr. Palmer: —

The affair took place in the evening, and the end of the stage was converted into a dark closet, in which sat a personage so arrayed as to make, by the light of a very feeble lamp, a tolerable impersonation of Beelzebub. Into this presence the candidate was solemnly ushered, and found himself alone with the distinguished-looking personage, who, in awful, sepulchral tones, addressed him in the following fashion, —

> If e'er these secrets thou reveal
> Let thunders on thy forehead peal;
> On thy vile bones thy flesh shall rot,
> And witches dire around thee trot.

Nothing of what was coming was known to the wight who was to pass through the ordeal; and the awe felt at the moment was very real, as was shown in one case by a student who, having some suspicion that there might be some humbug, courageously declared that, if there *were* any, he should treat it with contempt. This same person, when he found himself in the dimly lighted place, face to face with what seemed to be the Prince of Darkness, actually got on his knees at the summons of his Princeship, whom he afterwards discovered to be none other than his chum. This, of course, was nuts to the boys.

At the first meeting of Philo, the society, emulating the Social Fraternity, resolved to have a library, which was started with a nucleus of fifty-two volumes, including a medley of books and tracts representing all classes of literature except plays, which were then on

the *Index Expurgatorius* of Calvinistic New England. The *Records* of the society show that the members took part in numerous debates in which momentous questions of the day were presumably settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

In 1827, when William H. Hadley was President, Philo suffered a temporary eclipse, and the seven loyal members divided the property of the society, binding themselves to produce it when meetings should be resumed. Fortunately the organization survived this interruption of business and was reconstituted, only, however, to be neglected for a few weeks on account of a spirited revival then going on in the town, — "whereby we hope to be more profited than when meeting together for performance." In this preference of religion to oratory may undoubtedly be seen the influence of Principal John Adams.

The good feeling between Philo and the Social Fraternity was displayed in various courtesies shown by each to its rival. Indeed the members of Philo usually left that organization when they became Seniors, and joined the older society. The authorities soon permitted the two groups to use the same room for a library and assembly hall. Of the methods of business procedure then employed in Philo it is impossible to say much, for the *Records* are frequently imperfect and no one now alive can contribute to the investigation. We know that there were heated arguments as to what books were desirable for the library. On one occasion it was voted that Campbell's *Journey* and Scott's *Guy Mannering* should be burned as improper literature, but a week later the decision concerning

the latter volume was rescinded. It was agreed that no book from the society library should be carried into the Academy and read during school hours. One alumnus recalls that in 1837 the members of Philo were absorbed in the question, "Are teachers as much needed as ministers?" and settled it in the negative by a vote of 8 to 11.

In the days of the Stone Academy Philo met in the English room, "Number 1." Many of the younger boys, restive under the flow of rhetoric, amused themselves in peculiar ways. A favorite pastime was to fill a desk with waste paper, drop in a lighted match, and close the lid down; excitement was sure, within a few minutes, to develop. In the week of July 4 students not of the elect were likely to hurl firecrackers through the open windows, and sometimes to squirt water from syringes over some fervent orator. But the society survived these trials, and, more than once, in a well-planned sortie scattered the enemy and sent them to their rooms discomfited.

In 1848 the Social Fraternity, which had not been prospering, invited the Philo members to attend its closing meeting of the term. Hardly had the guests entered when Jerome Kimball, one of the hosts of the evening, rose and made a slanderous attack on Philo. Confusion followed and, in the midst of several hand-to-hand combats, the Philo men departed. On the next morning "Uncle Sam" administered a severe rebuke to the Social Fraternity. In the following June, when new members were elected to the Social Fraternity, they refused to join it, and the society died a natural death. Its property was disposed of at

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MRS. STOWE'S HOUSE, ENLARGED AS THE PHILLIPS INN

auction, and the *Records* were closed with the words, "O tempora! O mores!" appropriately ascribed to Shakspere. At the same time the books belonging to Philo and to the defunct Social Fraternity were united with those of the Society of Inquiry, and became the "Associate Library," which for many years contained the only reading matter, exclusive of that belonging to the Seminary, accessible to the Academy boys.

This Society of Inquiry just mentioned was founded in 1833 under the name of the "Missionary Fraternity." It was primarily a religious organization, established through the influence of Principal Johnson and a few Seminary professors. Its object was stated as follows: —

> A few of the pious members of Phillips Academy met October 7, 1833, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming an association the object of which shall be to inquire into the moral state of the world, and to effect a mission to the heathen in the persons of its members.

At first only those were to be eligible who proposed to devote themselves to missions. The signers of the constitution were thirteen in number, Isaac P. Langworthy being the president. At the regular meetings held on the last Monday of each month the programme consisted of a great deal of prayer interspersed with readings from missionary magazines. Tracts were distributed through the town. Anniversaries in imitation of those held by Philo were celebrated every year. In 1839 the name was changed to Society of Inquiry, and the constitution was so amended that "any *pious* students of the Academy" could become members.

The Society of Inquiry soon broadened its scope and devoted itself to diverse forms of philanthropy. The membership fees, together with funds solicited from the Faculty and townspeople, were applied to various benevolent purposes; in 1844, for instance, the available money was contributed to the Home Missionary Society. In the decade from 1840 to 1850 meetings were held twice a month, and the discussions which developed became so popular that the society gradually laid increasing emphasis on debating. By the mid-century it had come to rival Philo in the quantity and quality of its literary production. About 1850 a member of Inquiry acted each year as Superintendent of the Abbot Village Sunday School, and until 1868 the society assumed entire charge of this school, providing it also with papers and library books. From 1856 until 1860 it maintained a similar school in the "Scotland District." The society still conducted prayer-meetings, at one period on two evenings a week, Tuesday and Saturday, later on Sunday and Wednesday.

The fact that the society was gradually losing its exclusively religious character is also brought out in other ways. The debates show a tendency to encroach on the field already covered by Philo. In 1857, after considering the question, "Is the custom of using tobacco a sin?" the members voted 16 to 3 in the affirmative on the merits of the point at issue. They decided that theater-going is wrong and that dancing is "detrimental to the moral interests of society." By 1873, however, they were discussing such topics as Woman Suffrage, International Coinage, the Elec-

tive System, and National Prohibition. Their attitude on school problems was somewhat priggish: they agreed, in 1876, "that secret societies are an evil"; they rejected by a small vote a resolution that "one good sermon is sufficient for the Sabbath"; and they resolved "that intercollegiate boat-racing is detrimental to good morals."

In 1839 Philo and Inquiry held a joint anniversary, but this custom was soon abandoned. Under Dr. Taylor the annual exhibitions of the two organizations came to be features of Commencement Week, and the honor of delivering the President's address was highly esteemed. At Philo's twenty-ninth anniversary, July 21, 1855, Franklin Carter presented an oration, Alexander McKenzie gave the President's address, and Mrs. Stowe read an original poem. These exhibitions filled the place now occupied by the prize contests in declamation and public speaking.

By 1880 the two societies had grown to be so much alike that each was injuring the other, and it was clear that they could not profitably continue in direct rivalry. In 1882, therefore, Inquiry was reorganized; the literary exercises were largely abandoned, and the meetings shortly resumed their former aspect of religious conferences among the students. As if to emphasize this change, the society, on Sunday, June 17, 1883, observed its semi-centennial, at which many former members, including Professor Churchill, Dr. William E. Park, Professor Gulliver, and Leander T. Chamberlain, gave addresses. Under the reformed arrangement the attendance perceptibly increased; in 1886, for example, the membership numbered 123;

in 1888 the average of those present at the Sunday evening meetings was 97 and at the Wednesday gathering, 47. Opinions seem to differ as to the success of Inquiry during this period; one alumnus says, in speaking of this very time: —

> The religious work of the school suffered because of a lack of personal management, of thorough organization, and of united action by the members of Inquiry.

In 1892 a similar state of lethargy was said to exist. The truth is that enthusiasm was intermittent, and that interest in the society varied considerably from year to year.

Since 1882 the Society of Inquiry has been the representative religious organization of the students of Phillips Academy. In the spring of 1906, when it was affiliated with the Young Men's Christian Association, the constitution was once more revised, and the object of the organization was restated: —

> To create, maintain, and extend throughout the school life a strong, high, moral sentiment; to bring students into a personal relation with Jesus Christ as Divine Saviour and Friend; to build them up in Christian character; and to lead them to affiliate themselves with some branch of the Christian Church.

When, in 1907, Mr. Markham W. Stackpole was appointed School Minister, he provided for altering the Sunday evening prayer-meetings into services of a different kind, sometimes conducted entirely by the boys, sometimes addressed by interesting outside speakers. At the present time the meetings are of a varied character, consisting occasionally of ster-

eopticon lectures and informal talks by members of the Faculty. More recently, at his suggestion, the Society has organized group Bible classes, under the direction of Faculty instructors; and it was chiefly responsible for instituting the valuable educational work now carried on by the school at large among the foreigners in the industrial city of Lawrence.

On the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary the Society of Inquiry, on June 14, 1908, held a commemoration meeting, at which Dr. Samuel H. Dana, a former President, read a carefully prepared paper of *Historical Reminiscences*, which was followed by an address by President Charles F. Thwing on *Three Services of Inquiry* and by a talk by Principal Stearns on *Present-Day Claims of Inquiry*. The society was then, and still is, both vigorous and popular. Although its original aims have been modified to suit an age of different, although no less inspiring, ideals, it is still an instrument for the promotion of a manly and unselfish religious spirit in Phillips Academy.

The golden era of Philo extended from 1850 to 1865. At this time its leading debaters held an ascendancy in the Academy second only to that of "Uncle Sam" himself. The ablest young men were proud when they received one of those notes of invitation, "elegantly written," which were sent to those who received the honor of an election. The discussions were often so strenuous and eager that they stirred up the student body. In 1853 there was a violent argument over the adoption of a new constitution, in the course of which Edwin Grover, who professed openly to be

an infidel, was expelled by a set of dull and bigoted boys; within a fortnight, however, he was honorably reinstated. When Charles Sumner was so unmercifully beaten by Preston S. Brooks in the Capitol at Washington, Philo held an indignation meeting, and its resolutions were published in the Boston papers. Elections of officers were usually occasions for "playing politics." In 1855 the Middlers, eager to wrest from the Seniors the Presidency which the latter had always claimed by precedent, defied tradition, and, in the midst of a wild uproar, elected their candidate, Othniel C. Marsh, by a majority of one vote. It was at about this date that a group of seceders formed a new but short-lived society called "Ulema." A curious incident was the advocacy and passage, mainly through the efforts of Flavius Josephus Cook, of the Anti-Deception Bill, according to which no debater was to be allowed to uphold a side in the justice of which he did not believe. The measure soon proved to be unenforceable, as the only reliable witness was necessarily the speaker himself. In 1866 an "Eaton Rhetorical Society," composed of students in the English Department, was started, but endured only a few years. The new Society Hall in the Main Building was dedicated in 1866 by a joint meeting of Inquiry and Philo. In October, 1868, Philo held a famous debate on the coming national election; it began at seven o'clock and lasted until eleven-thirty, thus being the longest recorded in the society annals.

On Wednesday, May 26, 1875, Philo observed its fiftieth anniversary. After a fine historical address

by the Honorable Samuel Bradley Noyes, a procession was formed to march to the dinner tent, which had been set up on the former site of the Stone Academy. Professor Churchill occupied his customary place as toastmaster, and among those upon whom he called were Josiah Quincy, Dr. Jonathan French Stearns, Dr. McKenzie, Dr. Joseph Cook, and Dr. Bancroft. Through the liberality of Mr. Noyes, the society afterwards published a neat pamphlet containing complete accounts of the addresses, many of which have much historical value.

If we are to take the *Phillipian* as judge, interest in Philo steadily declined under Dr. Bancroft. One reformer in 1878 complains of the poor order in the meetings: —

> Certain members seem to find greater pleasure in eating and throwing apples at each other than in listening to the speakers. . . . Cutting is disgracefully frequent, and often interferes to a great degree with an evening's proceedings. At the meeting a week ago neither of the debaters were [*sic*] present, and as there were no substitutes, the debate was necessarily dispensed with.

A critic in 1879 speaks of "the disgraceful scenes weekly enacted at what are grossly misnamed the Philo meetings." A *Phillipian* editorial in 1883 says: —

> That Philo is on the decline, or, to put it somewhat milder, is at a standstill, is very evident, — results speak for themselves.

Yet many men now in middle life look back upon Philo at that period in the Academy as a highly valuable part of their education.

It was during this period, however, that Philo held some of its most successful entertainments. Mock trials were a favorite diversion; at some of these the hall was packed, and in several cases the *Phillipian* printed an "extra" with a detailed report of the proceedings. Minstrel shows also proved to be popular, and a mock Republican convention held under Philo's auspices in 1888 aroused keen interest. In spite of this superficial prosperity, however, the membership continued to fall off, until it was uncommon in 1891 to have over thirty members present at an ordinary meeting.

In the fall of 1891 certain members of Philo, joining with other students in the Academy, took steps towards forming a new society, which was definitely organized on January 15, 1892. A few weeks later the society adopted the name of "Forum," and took as its motto Goethe's last words, "Mehr Licht." Stimulated by this new competition, Philo showed much vitality, and both organizations had a reasonable degree of success. The first joint Philo-Forum debate, held on November 4, 1892, was followed by similar contests until the passing of Forum as a debating club put an end to the rivalry. Forum gained notoriety in 1901, when certain sensational newspapers learned that the members had passed a resolution condemning Roosevelt for killing American lions in the West, on the ground that it was unwarranted cruelty to animals.

In 1906 a Debating Union was organized, which planned a series of debates with Exeter. The first Andover–Exeter debate, held on May 16, 1906, was won by Exeter, but Andover was victorious in 1907.

From that year until 1915, when Andover broke the spell of defeats, Exeter was regularly the winner, and accumulated seven successive victories. In 1916 the Andover Faculty, sensible of the decreasing attention being paid to debating in Phillips Academy, voted to discontinue the contests.

For some years, beginning in 1898, it was the custom of both Philo and Forum to hold annual banquets, at which speeches were delivered by members and instructors. As the societies gradually declined in importance, these dinners were given up. In 1914 the officers of Forum, discouraged by the dwindling attendance, decided to make it frankly literary, and it became a small group of boys more or less interested in books and reading, who gather informally for the discussion of such topics. Philo, with a small membership, continues the traditions of the past, and its members make up in enthusiasm what they lack in numbers.

The literary societies, as was quite natural, were responsible for the earliest student publications. Before 1837 Philo had instituted a *Philomathean Mirror*, a symposium or selection of the best productions of the members during the term, which was left in manuscript and read to the society by the editors. In November, 1854, this appeared for the first time as a printed magazine. This issue had sufficient variety; it opened with a formidable "heavy" essay entitled *Imagination*, which was followed by a dissertation on *True Happiness*, an oration, *The Safeguards of the Republic*, and an "allegory," *The Garden of Cosmos*. Among the contents are three poems: *The Old School*

Bell, Thoughts on Visiting the Graves of Grandparents, and *Dewy Morn.* The most impressive contribution, an essay called *Night,* opens in this fashion: —

> How beautiful is night! As the weary sun retires to his leafy couch upon the mountain-top, and draws about him vapory sheets of golden hue, a grand entertainment is spread out for the lover of beauty. In such a scene he beholds indescribable grandeur, and reads suggestive lessons.

Didacticism and sentimentalism run riot on the pages, as in so many far more pretentious magazines of that particular era in American literature.

In the number for July, 1865, the names of the editors were revealed for the first time, and in March, 1867, a department called the "Pot-pourri," containing lists of the members of undergraduate organizations, was added. The *Mirror,* meanwhile, had become less solemn and more elaborate. In March, 1856, an "Editor's Table," evidently intended to be humorous, appeared, and it was not long before several pages were filled with jokes and so-called "chestnuts." Even "grinds" on unpopular instructors were not prohibited. Illustrations and cartoons were used when they could be secured, and in December, 1877, the *Mirror* aroused comment by coming out in a gorgeously enameled cover representing the Academy Building.

In 1850 the Society of Inquiry started a paper called the *Observatory,* modeled on the *Philomathean Mirror;* this was also read in manuscript for some years, but in March, 1863, it was changed into a printed magazine, with one of the society mottoes, "Vires Nobis Desuper," stamped on the cover. The essays in this

issue were mournfully religious in tone, on such fruitful subjects as *Hope*, *Spiritual Life*, and *Contentment*. The periodical was neither interesting nor successful, and was shortly discontinued.

The need of a school newspaper seems not to have been felt until the Centennial Celebration of 1878 gave a stimulus to academic life. The Phillips Exeter weekly paper, the *Exonian*, had started on Saturday, April 6, 1878. At this time almost no attention was paid by the two schools to each other; indeed, Andover was not even mentioned in the first issue of the *Exonian*. A few weeks later, however, came the first historic ball game on the Exeter Campus, and the rivalry which resulted soon aroused an ambition in Andover men to equal the other school in journalistic enterprise. The result was the *Phillipian*, which began its career on October 19, 1878, as a small four-page sheet printed in a Boston office. The editor-in-chief, Edward Stevens Beach, had nine colleagues, one of whom has since become famous as the Reverend Charles M. Sheldon, of Topeka, Kansas. They announced that they had in mind three aims: to develop an adequate medium for the presentation of school news; to bring Phillips Academy to the notice of other schools; and to create a literary spirit among the students. For some years the *Phillipian* was published once a fortnight, the subscription price being one dollar a year, or seven cents a copy. The editors were gratified at Commencement time to discover that they had cleared $76.52, which they devoted to the purchase of a round stained-glass window, portraying the Academy seal, for the "Great Hall."

The early numbers of the *Phillipian*, uncontrolled by even a nominal censorship, were enlivened by crude cartoons, and by gibes, more or less indecorous, at the "Theologues," the "Fem-Sems," and, it must be confessed, not seldom at Exeter and the *Exonian*. The editors of the rival school papers behaved like some of the Western journalists described by Mark Twain, and the taunts and scurrilities which were hurled across space furnished rich amusement for the reader. On October 9, 1880, for instance, the *Phillipian* said: —

> The *Exonian* comes to us with criticisms upon our cuts. We would remind this sheet again that we print the *Phillipian* in behalf of the students of Phillips Academy and that if they see fit to pay for it, the *Exonian* should have nothing to say on that score. . . . We rather surmise it is "sour grapes" that prompts the criticism.

When the cartoons were discontinued in 1881, the editors admitted that they had been kept up only "because they harrowed the soul of the *Exonian* man so fearfully." On January 13, 1883, the *Phillipian*, replying to some complaint, opened fire as follows: —

> The *Exonian* still continues to give forth most lamentable whines; so does a whipped cur.

Later in the same year the Andover paper revived the controversy: —

> It is about time for the *Exonian* to commence its customary tirade against Andover, and its inevitable fanfaronade of boasts about their [*sic*] success in athletics.

The annual contests with Exeter naturally brought the newspaper rivalry to fever heat. On June 12,

1880, after the baseball game, the *Phillipian* published an "extra," and this custom has been maintained ever since. The *Phillipian* invested in a large assortment of "rooster cuts," which adorned its pages on the days of Andover victories. Both the *Exonian* and the *Phillipian* repeatedly wrangled over the umpire's decisions whenever the home team was defeated. On November 2, 1887, after Andover had won the tennis match, the *Phillipian* could not resist a thrust: —

> The *Exonian* comes up as usual, whining after defeat. Never in the history of the two schools has Exeter been able to take defeat gracefully. . . . Their wail is truly pitiable, but their argument in support of it is even more so.

Needless to say, the editors of the *Exonian* were able to hold their own in this war of words. Fortunately the spirit which prompted the vituperation has long since vanished, and the relations between the two periodicals are to-day entirely amicable.

The *Phillipian*, which rather took pride in its independence, did not restrict its frankness of speech to foreign institutions. On one occasion, in referring to the contemporary *Mirror*, it said: —

> The *Mirror* came out at the close of last term with its customary dull essays and bad poems.

Every "cut" given by a teacher to his class was publicly recorded in the *Phillipian*. Nor did the editors hesitate to criticize the Sunday sermons, even when they were by men of national reputation. On matters of undergraduate interest the *Phillipian* usually led school opinion, and played no small part

in making the student body more coherent and unified. It varied, of course, in quality from year to year; under some editors it was notably contemptuous of good grammar and punctuation; at some seasons, especially in the autumn of 1899, it printed editorials of marked brilliancy. Its enterprise has always been commendable; in 1892, for instance, an "extra" appeared five minutes after the baseball game was over, the account having been sent to the printing-office by boys on bicycles.

In 1885 the paper was changed to a weekly, and, during the course of the winter, by vote of the school, became a strictly private business: the editors were authorized to choose their own successors, and were made responsible for all debts which they incurred. In 1887, chiefly through the efforts of Hugh McKennan Landon, who was probably the ablest editor the *Phillipian* ever had, several innovations were projected and carried into effect. It became an eight-page newspaper, appearing twice a week, on Wednesday and Saturday, and the subscription price was raised to two dollars and fifty cents a year or four cents a copy. The amount of advertising was much increased, and special attention was given to the financial management. Arrangements were perfected, also, for having the paper printed by the Andover Press, so that changes and corrections could more readily be made. At this period the editors published historical articles and alumni reminiscences which have even more value to-day than they had then.

Other modifications of less significance have been brought about by more recent editors. In 1891 the

Phillipian returned to its original four pages; the eight-page periodical had proved to be somewhat cumbersome, and business managers found it difficult to maintain the large amount of advertising which Landon, with his extraordinary energy, had been able to secure. In 1901 the size of the page was increased, but without involving any alteration in makeup. During the past decade the *Phillipian* has been nominally subject to the supervision of a Faculty committee, and the names of proposed editors must now be approved by that body.

In 1892 there was much agitation over the fact that Phillips Academy had no distinctively "literary" publication. The *Philomathean Mirror*, which, since 1885, had been notably excellent in form and arrangement, had really become equivalent to a term book of school activities. After some discussion, it was agreed that Philo should superintend the editing of an "annual," which should comprise most of the features so popular in the *Philomathean Mirror*, and that a new monthly magazine should be started, under the auspices of the school at large. A nominating committee appointed by the boys proceeded, so it was alleged, to select five out of seven of their number as editors of the proposed periodical, and this action evoked a vigorous protest from disappointed literary aspirants. While this quarrel was going merrily on, however, the first number of *The Phillips Andover Mirror*, "a literary magazine published by the students of Phillips Academy," appeared on May 1, 1892, with William H. Wadhams, now a judge of the New York Supreme Court, as President of the

Board of Editors. The introductory article was contributed by the Reverend Frederic Palmer on the subject *The Magazine and the Alumni*. Besides the essays, short stories, and poems, there were some intelligent editorials, some short notes on current school activities, and a section called "Leaves from Phillips Ivy," in which interesting facts about alumni were recorded. These alumni notes, including a carefully compiled necrology, were kept up by Mr. George T. Eaton, of the Faculty, and have proved to be of great value.

Since 1892 the *Mirror* has been a monthly publication representative of the best student literary work. Unfortunately for its continuity, its shape and type have been often changed to suit the whims and foibles of the editors, so that the bound volumes side by side present a motley appearance. In 1905, for instance, a new and peculiar form found temporary favor, but was fortunately rejected by the good sense of future editors. In recent years a more conventional shape has been adopted.

Meanwhile Philo, in the spring of 1893, had fulfilled its part of the agreement by publishing an annual, *The Masque*, which contained accounts of the Faculty, the Trustees, and various school organizations; a large number of cuts; and many "grinds" on both teachers and students. In 1894 *The Masque* was superseded by the *Pot-pourri*, edited by a joint committee selected from both Philo and Forum. In 1897 the two societies relinquished their control of the *Pot-pourri*, and it became entirely a school affair.

Early in the present century an alumni issue of the *Phillipian*, devoted particularly to news of interest

to graduates, became a feature of the school year. In August, 1906, a happy inspiration led Principal Stearns to institute the *Phillips Bulletin*, a magazine which, mailed free to all alumni, aimed to give them official accounts of events on Andover Hill. The first issue contained only a modest sixteen pages, which remained the standard until 1911, when the *Bulletin* appeared with a neat cover, was enlarged to nearly twice its former size, and, in general, was made more satisfactory as the school's representative publication for the world at large. In 1912 it was placed in charge of a permanent Faculty editor. It is now a quarterly periodical of from thirty-two to forty-eight pages, profusely illustrated, and with a circulation of ten thousand copies. Its imitation by other schools is proof of the desirability of such a magazine.

Not the least important of the student organizations have been the secret fraternities. Originated despite the open opposition of the authorities, they have since developed into institutions approved by the Faculty and owning beautiful houses of their own on Andover Hill. The mystery connected with their inception makes it difficult to dwell on details. Early in Dr. Bancroft's administration (about 1874) a group of boys, headed by Roland Davis Swope, of the class of 1876, started the K.O.A. Society, which held secret meetings in the basement of "Hatch's" (later "Chap's"); and it was not long before a rival fraternity, the A.U.V., was also surreptitiously formed. In the beginning these societies apparently spent much of their energies in "rough-housing" and in encouraging a kind of midnight activity certainly not sanc-

tioned by the "Doctor." In his report for 1877 he wrote: —

> Secret societies so-called have caused us some anxiety, but the Faculty have taken a positive stand forbidding them, and it is hoped to quite crush them out next year.

It was not long, however, before Dr. Bancroft came to see that the wisest course was regulation rather than prohibition. He recognized clearly the danger which they offered, not only to the homogeneity of the student body, but also to the fundamental democracy in which Phillips Academy had been inclined to take pride. He came to believe, nevertheless, that these evils could be avoided if the proper measures were taken in a tactful way.

Partly to show how this could be done, Professor Coy acted himself as sponsor for a third fraternity, P.A.E., which, in the beginning, was largely literary, and instituted by him mainly as a reward of merit. The original founders were four in number, James Hardy Ropes being one. In 1883, then, the Faculty decided to discontinue the policy of suppression. The *Phillipian* for June 17, 1884, in making a survey of the year, indulges in this comment: —

> In the matter of discipline we note the recognition of secret societies — those ancient and omnipresent bugbears of the "powers that be." Possibly the latter grew weary of the useless warfare; possibly they became convinced of their error; at any rate, the various societies — of which there are five existing under so-called charters granted by the Faculty — are now recognized as regular school institutions. So far as we have been able to judge, this radical change of attitude has not been productive of any partic-

ularly dangerous results, but has been the means of preventing much of the scheming and wire-pulling such as has happened in other years.

One of the societies here mentioned was R.A.S., which, founded in 1882, soon, because of some abuses of privileges on the part of its members, deteriorated, and was eventually abolished. A writer in the *Phillipian* gives the following account of the initiation of a candidate for R.A.S.: —

> He was first ordered to provide a supper for the society at his rooms, which he did at a cost of about $15; then, leaving the rest to eat the supper, at twelve o'clock he was sent out on the Campus behind the Academy to wait for what might follow. At about one o'clock he was seized by a crowd of fellows, blindfolded, and ridden on a rail down to Pomp's Pond, those accompanying him rattling empty bottles all the time to give the effect of clanking chains. After arriving at the pond, he was buried in a grave up to his head, and then baptized with an abominable mixture of mucilage and ginger ale, this operation closing the ceremonies.

For many years these pioneer societies — K.O.A., A.U.V., and P.A.E. — existed without much competition. Like the famous Yale Senior Societies, on which they were unquestionably modeled, they were ostentatiously secret. Outside the sacred precincts the name of the fraternity never passed the lips of the members, and they maintained a studied air of mystery regarding its aims and organization. In a short time each society obtained a building of its own; these houses were kept always close-shuttered and bolted, and the curtains were let down so that no mere layman could peer within.

As part of the supervising scheme devised by Dr. Bancroft each society was subject to certain restrictions. Each fraternity was obliged to choose a Faculty guardian, whose duty it was to see that the regulations were met. All candidates for a society had to be passed upon by the Faculty, and no student notably deficient in his school work was allowed to join. Meetings, except of a special kind, were permitted only on Saturday evenings.

In the course of time other similar societies were formed, some of which became permanent. P.B.X., founded in the early "nineties" as a distinctively "Commons" society, is still flourishing, although it has been altered so that it is now on the same basis as the others. The Sphinx was originated in 1895, but its affairs soon fell into disorder, and the enforced departure of nearly all its members in one year led to its dissolution. Another, the K.D.S., also had a brief period of prosperity, followed by decline and death. Between 1898 and 1905, however, three fraternities were started which still exist: P.L.D., P.L.S., and A.G.X. There are to-day, then, seven secret societies, each of which owns or rents its own house. In 1901 K.O.A. erected a stately brick structure on School Street; in 1908 the P.A.E. House was built on South Main Street, near Brothers' Field; and the A.U.V. House on Wheeler Street was completed in 1916. New houses for the other societies are being planned, and will doubtless be under way within a few years.

The value of these societies in student life is still a mooted question. Criticism of the rough initiations

was common enough a decade ago, but recent legislation by the Faculty has resulted in the elimination of practically all the objectionable features. Society men tend to associate with one another, and they naturally include most of the more prominent men, for students who are leaders in any one field seldom fail to secure an election. Hardly over one fourth of the boys, however, are taken into societies, and this leads logically to the creation of a kind of caste system in a school which is based on democratic principles. As a matter of fact, however, the societies have probably done more good than harm; and they are now so firmly established and so loyally supported by alumni, that, unless some entirely new and thoroughly convincing charges are brought against them, they are hardly likely to lose their foothold on the Hill.

It is quite natural for young men of the maturity of those in Phillips Academy to wish to ape college students in their "outside activities." As early as 1869 there was a " Phillips Sextette, " consisting of a cornet, two violins, two flutes, and a violoncello. An orchestra of this general type has been sustained at intervals ever since, its importance depending, of course, on the quality of the musical talent in the school. In 1873 there was a Glee Club, made up of Rufus B. Tobey as leader, and seven other members; and there have been very few years since that date when such a club has not represented the student body. A "Banjo Quartette," which soon evolved into a Banjo Club, was started in 1887; and a Mandolin Club was organized in 1892. Concerts are given every winter by these three clubs in col-

laboration, and, since 1897, they have been under the same management, although each has still a separate leader.

Other organizations which have sprung up from time to time deserve mention chiefly as showing the diversified interests in which a Phillips boy may take part. A Natural History Society, a Camera Club, a Deutscher-Verein, a Bicycle Club, a Dramatic Club, a Rifle Club: these societies appear and reappear, but no one has had a continuous history. College clubs, formed by men who propose to go to Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Brown, Amherst, or the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, develop sporadically, and they sometimes bring distinguished speakers to the school. The success of these enterprises is dependent mainly upon the enthusiasm of a few active spirits who, for a brief period, are able to exert an influence over their fellows.

As Phillips Academy is administered to-day, no boy is likely to suffer from the lack of an opportunity to gratify his social tastes. There are, of course, the usual dances through the year: the Senior Promenade, first held in June, 1903, is now a fixture at Commencement time; the Junior Promenade has been, since 1904, a delightful function usually appointed for Washington's Birthday; and the Peabody Assemblies are scattered through the winter term on Saturday afternoons. A student must be peculiar indeed who cannot find among his five hundred and fifty mates some congenial friend to join him in a diversion or a hobby. Absorption in some such avocation is the antidote to the evil work which is always ready

for idle hands to do. In steering the school between the Scylla of overemphasis on study and the Charybdis of overindulgence in play the present Principal has had good success. His policy has the support and coöperation of all those who have the welfare of Phillips Academy at heart.

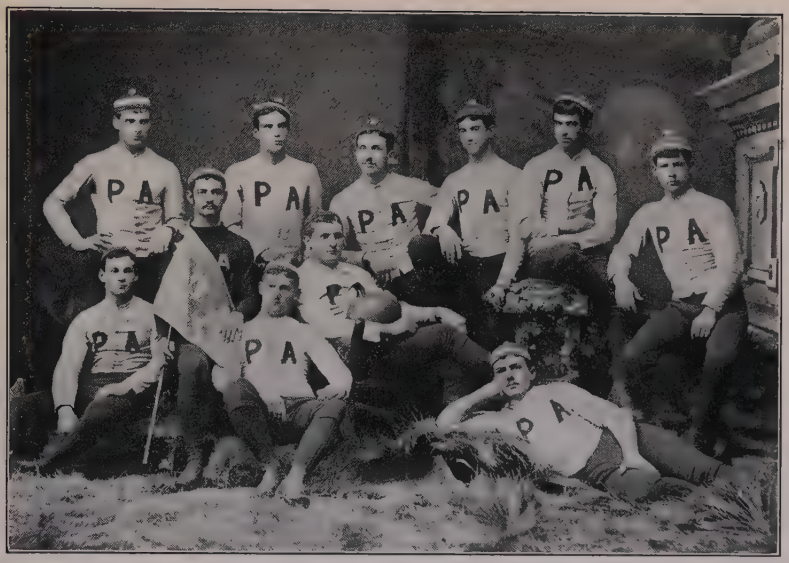
CHAPTER XXII

SOME BASEBALL STORIES

We played again the immortal games
And grappled with the fierce old friends,
And cheered the dead, undying names,
And sang the song that never ends.

The stranger who climbs to Andover Hill on any fine afternoon in June or October will see the broad playing-fields dotted with little groups of boys, each absorbed in some outdoor sport. Every student, unless he is classed with the sick or the crippled, is obliged to take part in athletics; but the love of exercise is so widespread that there are only a few "slackers" who would not play voluntarily, even if the compulsion were removed. This love of games, however, is, in New England, a gradual development. The Puritans, as Macaulay delighted in pointing out, were intolerant of mere aimless diversion. Judge Phillips seldom speaks of either rest or recreation. The solace which he took in his horseback rides to Boston was strictly in the way of business; and the idea of recuperating and preserving his physical strength by means of exercise in the open air would perhaps have seemed to him beneath the dignity of a "learned judge."

It was, however, impossible to repress the healthy instincts of the boys. Josiah Quincy, we know, was dismayed at the prospect of sitting eight long hours a day in the recitation room. "The truth was," he



THE FOOTBALL TEAM OF 1883

THE BASEBALL TEAM OF 1906

said, "I was an incorrigible lover of sports of every kind. My heart was in ball and marbles." Swimming was so popular that regulations regarding suitable "holes" in Pomp's Pond and in the Shawsheen had to be passed by the Trustees. At the time when school was held almost into "dog days," the first refuge of the weary youngsters at the end of the afternoon was in the cool waters of the river. In the winter there were coasting-parties on the steep hills around the town. At other seasons there were long walks through the forest, — then much denser than it is to-day, — to the Merrimack, Den Rock, or Indian Ridge; or even farther, to Haggett's Pond or Wilmington. The Honorable William W. Crapo remembers walking often to Lawrence to watch the construction of the great dam. Now and then we hear, quite casually, of a game of "rounders" or of a strange rough-and-tumble amusement called football; but all this was impromptu, arranged on the spur of the moment out of sheer delight in exercise, and there were no organized teams or contests with other schools. During Dr. Taylor's administration athletics, even for the frivolous, were largely subsidiary to textbooks, or debating, or religious work. The colleges themselves at this date had hardly learned the importance of outdoor games in any system of education.

The game of "rounders," as it was played in the days before the Civil War, had only a faint resemblance to our modern baseball. For a description of a typical contest, which took place in 1853, we are indebted to Dr. William A. Mowry: —

Nine of us signed and posted on the bulletin board of the Academy a challenge to play a game of ball with any other nine in the school. This notice remained posted for two weeks, but nine persons could not be found who would accept the challenge. We therefore tore it down and rewrote it, challenging any *eleven* men. The number nine had no especial significance, except that it was a convenient number to play the game. Eleven would give that side a very decided advantage.

This challenge was accepted, and a Saturday afternoon selected for the game. It was played on the open field in the rear of the Seminary buildings. The game was a long one. No account was in those days made of "innings"; the record was made merely of runs. When one had knocked the ball, had run to the bases, and had reached the "home goal," that counted one "tally." The game was for fifty tallies. The custom then was to have no umpire, and the pitcher stood midway between the second and third bases, but nearer the center of the square. The batter stood midway between the first and fourth bases, and the catcher just behind the batter, as near or as far as he pleased.

Well, we beat the eleven, the tally standing on the side of the nine, 50, and on the side of the eleven, 37. Of course there had to be another game. It was played, and they beat us; so the score stood "one-and." Several weeks passed before the "rubber" came off. Both parties waited until everything was "good and ready." The field was lined with a large number of interested spectators. After a time the tally stood 37 to 37. Then we put out the other side and took our turn at bat. When I came up, instead of striking the ball, I let it hit the bat and glance away over the wall behind the catchers. Then I ran around to the home base before the ball got back to the field. This would be a foul to-day, but it was allowable then. Our side now had 38, and we succeeded in keeping in until we secured the 50.

In other sections of the country, meanwhile, the game was taking shape, and at last, in the fall of 1864, James B. Wells, who had been a member of the Active Baseball Club of Brooklyn, entered Phillips Academy and taught his schoolmates the rules. As soon as the snow was off the ground in the following spring, Wells and his followers marked out a rude diamond on the field in the rear of the present Pemberton Cottage, near Phillips Street, and began practice. Wells, who was the self-appointed captain, invited his personal friends to join the team, which was thus mainly a social organization. This first club arranged no games with outside teams; but the men had "scrub" contests, in which they wore uniforms consisting of a white flannel shirt, loose long trousers, and a belt with a large "A" on the buckle. The "A" stood, not for Andover, but for Actives, the nine having borrowed the formidable name of the Brooklyn team.

In January, 1866, the famous "Archie" Bush, fresh from service as a lieutenant in the Northern army, entered Phillips Academy; he had already had baseball experience with the "Haymakers" of Albany, and knew the game thoroughly. Although he was an adept in any position, he was perhaps best as catcher, and he stood behind the bat without protection of any kind; the danger, however, was rather less than it is to-day, for pitching at that period was underhand, any other method of delivery being illegal.

Bush was the first man in Phillips Academy to establish baseball on a firm footing. Mr. George Huntress, of Boston, well recalls aiding Bush in lay-

ing out a diamond which had all the measurements exact to the inch. "Uncle Sam" would allow no outside games during the academic year, but immediately after Commencement a contest was arranged with Tufts College. This, the first competition held by Andover with any other institution, was played in a hayfield, and the Phillips boys, "green" though they were, defeated their older rivals. Two games were also scheduled with the leading clubs of Boston, the "Lowells" and the "Tri-Mountains." Both contests took place on Boston Common, where the ground, beaten hard and with scarcely a blade of grass, was far different from the rough meadow in Andover. In the game with the "Lowells" the Phillips boys, Bush excepted, were much "rattled," and consequently were beaten. On the following day, however, against the "Tri-Mountains," the Academy team managed to win by a good score. Of this first representative Andover nine, four afterwards played for Yale and two for Harvard.

In those days no balls were called on any batter, and no strikes, unless he actually swung at the ball. Any hit, fair or foul, was out if caught on the first bound. When a player stepped to the plate, he was supposed to indicate where he wanted the pitcher to place the ball, and it was his right to wait until the throw satisfied him. No gloves of any kind were worn by either fielders or catcher.

The game thus instituted soon became very popular. A Phillips Baseball Association was organized, school and class nines were formed, and it was not

long before outside contests were being played with the sanction of the Principal. In the fall of 1866 there were two teams in the Academy, the "Actives" and the "Enterprises." Two games were played, both being won by the "Actives"; the first by a score of 42 to 8, the second, 49 to 8. In the spring of 1867 there was a team in each class. In 1869 the "Alerts," representing the Seniors, met the "Athletes," a group of Middlers, for the school championship. In the first game the "Alerts" were beaten 30 to 25; in the last two, played on June 5 and June 12, they won by scores of 20 to 17 and 36 to 26. In the final game the "Athletes" made fifteen runs in a single inning, but to no avail.

The team of 1871, of which William H. Moody, afterwards Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was captain, won six out of its seven games. Among the members of this nine were Charles Sumner Bird, the prominent Massachusetts Progressive; John Patton, later United States Senator from Michigan; and Edward C. Smith, afterwards Governor of Vermont. The *Mirror* for 1871 gave a full discussion of each player's merits and faults, with the batting and fielding averages for the individual members of the team.

The list of opponents lengthened gradually. In 1876 the Phillips team for the first time met the Harvard Freshmen, and were badly defeated, but they took revenge in a return game, which they won, 17 to 15. In 1877 Adams Academy was added to the schedule and easily defeated, 23 to 7. In 1878, under an energetic captain, Charles F. Gardner, the team

went into strict training, and took special gymnasium exercises during the winter. It was in this year that the first memorable contest was held with Exeter. The Andover nine, after opening the season with two decisive victories over the "Theologues" and a triumph over the strong "Websters" of Lowell, felt rather confident. On Wednesday, May 22, they went to Exeter, only to return home beaten by a score of 12 to 1. Manning, the Andover pitcher, had only a straight underhand throw, which proved to be ineffective. The *Mirror*, blinded by partisanship, insisted, however, on ascribing the result to other causes: —

> The game was lost owing to the gross ignorance of the umpire, and the unevenness of the ground, on which there were many trees; our nine played without any dinner, and the Exeters allowed them to return home without any supper.

This somewhat unsportsmanlike charge was answered by the *Exonian* in kind. The great rivalry had begun. In this game the Andover men wore white flannel suits with blue trimmings, and the Exeter players appeared also in white flannel, but decorated with cardinal. The return contest, on June 1, at Andover, was attended by some eighty Exeter supporters. Although Andover won, 10 to 8, the vindictive *Mirror* could not resist a thrust: —

> Mr. Ogden, of the Theological Seminary, umpired, and gave universal satisfaction. The visitors did *not* go home hungry.

It is to the credit of the *Exonian* that it made no excuses: —

The best of good feeling prevailed, although our men naturally felt a little irritated over their defeat, but the visitors strove to show as little exultation as possible. Such contests as these can certainly be productive of nothing but good, and we hope they will be kept up.

The plan of holding two games with Exeter was soon abandoned, on the ground that it unduly prolonged the excitement among the students. In 1879 the "Andover ministers," as the *Exonian* called them, with F. W. Rogers as captain, won by a score of 12 to 2. In 1880 occurred the first of the few serious controversies between the schools. The game, held at Andover on June 5, was being kept lively by the presence of over a hundred Exeter "rooters." Everything went well until the seventh inning, when, in a critical moment, Exeter's third baseman, Bean, hit a ball down the first-base line, and, judging it to be a foul, did not run. The first baseman, however, took the precaution of touching the base, the ball was declared to be fair, and Bean, of course, was out. A sharp dispute followed, and, when the umpire refused to reverse his decision, the Exeter nine packed their bats and departed, thus forfeiting the game. The hit in question seems to have been very much in doubt, for the spectators near the line differed in their opinions. The *Phillipian*, after reviewing the arguments, concludes sagaciously but not very tactfully: —

We cannot take the blame upon ourselves, as we only supported the umpire in a decision which we considered, and still consider, just. It is therefore with Exeter that the blame for the weakest, most childish, and most contemptible ending that ever disgraced a good game must wholly, or in good part, rest.

The 1881 game, played at Exeter, was the earliest occasion on which the student body was allowed to attend a contest in foreign territory. It was memorable, also, because of the remarkable batting of Pi Yuk, the Chinese center fielder on the Andover team. In the first inning, with a man on a base, Pi Yuk came to bat, and was greeted with derisive cries of "Washee, washee; chinkee go back benchee," and similar expressions; undisconcerted, he hit the first ball pitched for a three-bagger. In the second inning he again knocked a two-base hit, scoring another runner. These two long hits did much toward bringing victory to Andover by a score of 13 to 5. Pi Yuk, who later became Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, spoke at Andover in 1903, recalling the famous game and his part in it: —

> When the train arrived with the victorious nine, the whole school turned out to welcome them with torchlights, a brass band, and an omnibus drawn by enthusiastic students with a long rope. Even Rome could not have received Cæsar with greater enthusiasm and pride when he returned from his famous campaigns in triumph.

After being beaten in 1882 in a close contest, Andover, under Captain W. M. Vinton, won for two consecutive years. Vinton, who is still remembered as the most brilliant pitcher of his day, struck out, in the season of 1884, a hundred men in nine games, and lost only one contest, that with Harvard University; in the Exeter game, which he won, 13 to 5, he "fanned" seventeen of his opponents. He afterwards distinguished himself in professional baseball.

An amusing incident which occurred in 1885 illustrates the prevalent attitude at that time towards professionalism in athletics. In an editorial for May 9, 1885, the *Phillipian*, without the slightest attempt at concealment, mentions the fact that the Baseball Committee had tentatively engaged the services of a professional named Sweeney, who had pitched well during the previous year for Haverhill. Great dissatisfaction ensued throughout the school, chiefly because it was felt to be unfair to deprive a member of the Academy of his chance of making the nine. So strong was the opposition that the Committee reconsidered its action, and released Sweeney from his contract. In the Exeter game, with Weyerhauser, the regular pitcher, far from well, Andover lost, 9 to 1. A few days later, however, the Academy nine defeated a strong town team, for which Sweeney was the pitcher. Thereupon the *Phillipian* spoke as follows: —

> The Andover *vs.* P. A. game was watched with some interest owing to the plan, which has fallen through, of hiring Sweeney to pitch for us this season. Any candid person who examines the records of the two pitchers in the game will admit the utter folly of engaging him as our pitcher. The *Phillipian* thinks that, outside the question of school honesty and honor, this game has shown that it would have been poor policy to hire Sweeney as a pitcher.

Incidents such as this remind us of the marked change in the attitude towards professionalism which has taken place in twenty years.

The game of 1886 was lost under painful circumstances. Until the eighth inning Andover led by a

score of 6 to 1. Then came a rally in which Exeter, amid the most intense excitement, batted in six runs and won the game. "Buck" Knowlton, the Andover captain, had a sweet revenge in the following year, when his team defeated Exeter, 22 to 6. An article in *Harper's Round Table* gives a good contemporary impression of the subsequent jubilation: —

About the seventh inning a mysterious-looking wagon containing something covered with a canvas drove rapidly across the field and disappeared in the woods beyond. This strange sight was soon forgotten in the interest of the game; but the wagon bore the instruments of the Andover Brass Band, who were concealed in the woods and whom a loyal citizen had hired in case of victory. At the end of the game when all Andover was tearing madly on the field and bearing off the victors on their shoulders, the band appeared on the scene in full blare. Every one fell in behind them, helping them out with tin horns and cries of "Left, left, left, the Exeter men got left!"

It was this game which led the *Phillipian* to revive its drooping spirits, and to assert, "The tide has turned at last."

In 1888 the captain was E. H. Brainard and the pitcher was "Al" Stearns, the present Principal of Phillips Academy, then a mere boy. At the final game of the season he pitched with great effectiveness, and it was mainly because of his steadiness that Andover won, 6 to 4. The *Phillipian*, still ungenerous to opponents, said with satisfaction: —

Stearns, under the pressure of the most continued yelling, hooting, rattle-shaking, and every conceivable annoyance of Exeter's representatives, pitched a wonderful game.

There were times, as we have seen, when the sting of defeat made some overexcited boys forget the courtesies due to friendly rivals. The tension after close contests was often so great that trivial incidents took on an exaggerated importance, and baseless accusations were scattered promiscuously abroad. The "townies" or "muckers," as the students called them, did their best to increase the friction by posing as Academy boys, and casting stones or shouting opprobrious epithets in the wake of the visiting team. Before 1889 there had been minor difficulties which showed that the two schools had not learned as yet "to love the game beyond the prize." Now and then a team had been followed to the station with jeers; but no one had been injured, and the disagreements had been smoothed over by compromise. Certainly there was no reason in the spring of 1889 to anticipate trouble.

In connection with the baseball game of that year an unusual situation had arisen. A student named White, who, in 1888, had played second base for Andover, had resigned and had transferred to Exeter, chiefly because the Andover management refused to make him concessions. At Exeter he had soon displayed ability as a pitcher, and he was to be in the box in the Andover game against his former teammates. In this contest, which was held on June 14 at Exeter, "Al" Stearns pitched for Andover, but his arm had been in poor condition for weeks and caused him intense pain after the third inning. At the end of the seventh inning, with the score 3 to 2 in favor of Exeter, the game was called on account

of rain. An hour later, when the Andover men were waiting quietly at the station with many "muckers" taunting them, a number of Exeter students, carrying White and other players on their shoulders, marched by. There was a collision over the right of way; a free fight started, in the course of which Professor Coy, then Andover's Acting Principal, was hit on the head, and one youngster was knocked unconscious. The responsibility for this unfortunate fracas cannot be definitely placed; but had it not been for the timely intervention of some muscular members of the Andover teaching staff, the affair might have spread into something very serious. Immediately after their return the Andover Faculty notified Exeter that the series of athletic contests between the schools was at an end.

As a result no football game was held in the autumn of 1889. Dr. Bancroft, on his arrival from abroad, made a statement to explain Andover's action: —

> We have received no proposals looking to a new series of games, under terms and conditions mutually satisfactory to both schools, and guarding effectually against the difficulties specified.

The dispute continued through the winter, and the *Exonian* and the *Phillipian* filled many columns with gentlemanly condemnation of one another's policy. In January three Andover students, Stearns, "Laurie" Bliss, and Addis, met three Exeter representatives, headed by White, and agreed that, if contests were allowed to go on, the students of the home school would not go to the station or molest in any

way the members of the visiting academy. Not until May, 1890, would the Andover Faculty consent to such an arrangement. At that time rules were signed governing the eligibility of players, and restricting the celebration of victories so that the two sides would not be likely to clash. Although both faculties consented to these regulations, Exeter admitted that she could not comply with them before the following autumn, and accordingly no baseball game was scheduled for that spring. Dr. Stearns enjoys to-day telling of correspondence with the Exeter captain, culminating in a secret meeting in his rooms at Andover, in which it was almost decided to have a baseball contest *sub rosa* on a diamond at Haverhill; the players, however, were dissuaded from this rash act, largely through the arguments of Vance McCormick, who maintained that it would be foolish deliberately to invite expulsion. The proposed game was never held, and the Andover nine, one of the best that ever represented Phillips Academy,[1] had no opportunity for trying its mettle against its rival. In this season Andover played her first baseball game with Yale College, and was beaten, 9 to 5. The schedule culminated in a victory, 11 to 4, over the "Beacons" of Boston, who had previously defeated Exeter, 4 to 2. Andover claimed that this proved her supremacy, and the students held a joyful celebration. In this game with the "Beacons," Dalzell, the Andover pitcher, held his opponents to five hits, and knocked

[1] On this team were five men each of whom was later a captain at college: Stearns at Amherst, Case, Rustin, L. Bliss, and McCormick at Yale.

out a two-bagger and three-bagger, practically clinching his own match.

When relations in baseball were resumed in 1891, the Andover team showed unusual strength, and, after a preliminary schedule of twenty-three games, played an errorless contest against Exeter, winning, 7 to 1. This was one of Andover's glorious athletic years, for she defeated Exeter in all four sports: football, baseball, tennis, and track.

In the spring of 1893 there was another unfortunate break in the succession of baseball games. Andover protested the Exeter catcher on the ground that he had once "sustained his livelihood" as a professional, and was therefore ineligible; Exeter refused to compete without the man in question, and the annual contest was consequently omitted. The football controversy of 1893, which led to a complete severing of relations between the schools for three years, left Andover without a game with Exeter in baseball until June, 1897, when Irving J. French's team was beaten at Exeter by a score of 6 to 12. In the interval from 1894 to 1896 so-called championship contests were held with Williston and Lawrenceville, but it was difficult for the students to generate enthusiasm over so artificial a rivalry.

The mere recounting of games year after year can, of course, give no adequate conception of the dramatic incidents which were constantly occurring. Andover "fans" can never forget Barnwell's wonderful running catch, in the 1899 game, of what looked to be a home run by Alexander. In this dramatic contest, which Andover finally won, 11 to 8, the redoubt-

able "Ike" Saunders pitched a magnificent game, striking out eleven of his opponents. In the following year Matthews, Andover's shortstop, batted like a fiend, and it was his work which eventually led his team to victory, 9 to 5.

In 1901, when Matthews was captain, a series of three games with Exeter was tried for the first and last time. A few days before the first game was to be played Exeter protested Campbell, the Andover pitcher; the Andover authorities, however, wisely insisted on having the charges brought before a committee of Boston lawyers, who, after a thorough investigation, reported that the accusations had no foundation. In the mean time, however, Andover, without Campbell, had lost the first of the series in most melancholy fashion; she was ahead, 5 to 0, at the opening of the seventh inning, and then Exeter, in a furious batting rally, pounded in six runs. The second game, at Andover, was an easy victory for the home nine; and, in the "rubber" contest, Campbell had the pleasure of shutting out his rivals, 9 to 0.

The excellent team captained by Frank O'Brien in 1902 lost its Exeter game through a painful stroke of misfortune. In the very first inning, with three men on bases, an Exeter player drove a short hit back of first base. The grass was long, and, in the excitement, the fielders could not find the ball; the result was that all four Exeter men romped around the bases, and their team won, 5 to 3.

The closing game with Exeter in 1903 had a climax almost unequaled in the baseball history of the two schools. "Rod" Brown, the pitcher, and "Charlie"

Clough, the first baseman, had distinguished themselves for Andover; but the critical moment was reserved for the ninth inning. Andover's lone run had come in the seventh, and Exeter had not scored. With two men out, Cooney, Exeter's best batter, stepped to the plate and smashed the first ball pitched a terrific crack over the head of the Andover center fielder, "Bunny" Hodge, who, realizing the situation, turned and ran like a deer towards the tennis courts far behind his usual position. While still at full speed he leaped high in the air, and, to the amazement of all, landed on his feet with the ball clasped securely in one hand. It was a catch such as is rarely seen even in professional games, and Hodge himself afterwards admitted that he did not know how it happened. The ball itself was turned over to the trophy room some fifteen years later.

"Charlie" Clough, who was in some respects the greatest ball player that ever represented Phillips Academy, was captain for 1904 and 1905. In 1904 his nine lost to Exeter by a score of 2 to 1. In 1905 Mr. Bartlett H. Hayes, a former Harvard pitcher now residing in Andover, generously gave his services as coach, and under him, until he was obliged to relinquish coaching in 1911, Andover had its golden era of baseball. In 1905, at Exeter, Andover went ahead in the eighth inning through "Barney" Reilly's two-bagger and Mallory's three-bagger, and won, 6 to 4. "Barney" Reilly, who was captain in both 1906 and 1907, won each of his Exeter games by a score of 3 to 2. In 1906, at the opening of the eighth inning, Exeter led, 2 to 1. With two men out, Lani-

gan, Andover's pitcher, hit to Cooney in center field, who let a slow ball slip past him, thus allowing Murphy to score; and an error by the Exeter catcher gave Lanigan a chance to come home. In this year Andover defeated Bates, Yale, Williams, Harvard, Dartmouth, Amherst, Vermont, and the Amherst "Aggies," winning twelve games out of the nineteen. No other Andover nine has ever surpassed this record. The 1907 game also had a spectacular finish. In the ninth inning, with the score 3 to 2 in Andover's favor, Exeter had a man on first and one out. Her next batter knocked a short fly to right field which looked safe, but "Fred" Daly, by an extraordinary effort, took the ball on the dead run and, by a quick throw to first, made a double play, thus closing the contest.

For some years the baseball schedule had been gradually growing longer and more difficult. Most of the games were with colleges, and Andover had shown herself quite able to meet higher institutions on an even basis. About 1907, however, the reaction set in. Colleges were coming to the conclusion that they had little to gain and everything to lose by playing "prep" schools, and Phillips managers found it increasingly difficult to secure games with Harvard, Yale, Amherst, and similar teams. The Andover Faculty, moreover, were convinced that the newspaper notoriety given to prominent school athletes was an evil. The natural result was the shortening of the schedule, and the substitution of Freshman teams and of other secondary schools for colleges.

It must not be inferred that the excitement over

baseball has in any respect lessened. After 1907 victory alternated between the schools until 1914, when Exeter won her second consecutive game, and followed that success by beating Andover in 1915 and 1916. The most thrilling contest of the last decade was that of 1910, when "Happy" Burdette in the eleventh inning drove a "Texas leaguer" between first and second, thus bringing in the run which meant victory by a score of 5 to 4. The results of baseball games between the two academies are still as uncertain as ever: the enthusiasm is so intense, the nerves of the players are so on edge, that even the best fielders occasionally get "rattled" and make errors which seem at the time to be inexcusable. Thus it happens that a nine which, judged by its previous record, ought to be a decided favorite, only too often gives way beneath the strain and is beaten by a team which, on paper, seems to be considerably inferior. In deciding an Andover-Exeter game, psychology as well as skill plays an important part.

Andover "fans" often divert themselves by picking out players for a mythical "all-Andover nine," composed of heroes who have represented the blue. Some positions are easy to fill; others may be claimed for four or five competitors who seem to be on a parity. There is also the insuperable difficulty of comparing a pitcher of 1884, like Vinton, with one of 1901, like Campbell, and arriving at a reasonable estimate of their respective merits. No effort will be made here to select such a representative team; but it may not be amiss to mention the names of great players who have filled the various positions. Among

the famous catchers have been "Archie" Bush, '67; "Fred" Poole, '87; "Buck" Knowlton, '88; John Greenway, '93; Pitt Drew, '95; Lloyd D. Waddell, '99; "Burney" Winslow, '00; Walter Snell, '09; and "Dick" Wright, '12. There have been a number of excellent pitchers, including Halbert, '81; Vinton, '84; Dalzell, '90; "Al" Stearns, '90; Turner, '92; "Gil" Greenway, '93; Hillebrand, '96; George G. Stephenson, '00; Campbell, '02; "Rod" Brown, '06; and "Butts" Merrill, '07. At first base "Charlie" Clough, '05, has probably never been surpassed on an Andover team; but others, like "Phil" Stewart, '82; "Ed" Brainard, '89; Harold W. Letton, '94; "Charlie" Littlefield, '99; and "Jim" Reilly, '09, have enviable records. At second base may be named "Fred" Murphy, '93; "Joe" Hazen, '94; Frank Quinby, '99; "Eddie" Dillon, '05; "Barney" Reilly, '07; McIntyre, '08; and Bennet, '09. There have been several good shortstops, of whom the best are probably "Pus" Noyes, '86; Rustin, '91; Barnes, '96; Irving J. French, '97; Matthews, '01; and Frank O'Brien, '02. Third basemen of the highest rank have been comparatively rare, and the four who are best remembered are of recent date: Huiskamp, '03; "Gil" Kinney, '04; H. N. Merritt, '07; and John Reilly, '11. Among the fielders the most brilliant was unquestionably Arthur Barnwell, '99; but there are many others, including Pi Yuk, '82 (later Sir Chentung Liang Cheng); "Pa" Grimes, '88; "Laurie" Bliss, '91; "Doc" Hillebrand, '96; Mallory, '05; Schildmiller, '05; Fred J. Murphy, '07; George Thompson, '09; and "Louie" Middlebrook, '10.

From these men several powerful nines could be selected. The list is, of course, not intended to be complete; it is merely suggestive, and there are few Andover graduates who will not feel quite competent to reconstruct and alter it. Fortunately Phillips alumni, no matter how long they argue, can never agree absolutely upon this subject. So it is that baseball, for many a year to come, will invite reminiscences from men whose days upon the diamond are over and who are far better acquainted to-day with their brassies and niblicks than they are with a bat and a glove.

CHAPTER XXIII

FOOTBALL AND ITS HEROES

AND where's the wealth, I'm wondering,
Could buy the cheers that roll
When the last charge goes thundering
Beneath the twilight goal!

To Andover men football is the king of games, and to make the eleven is the crowning glory of a boy's athletic career. Other sports are interesting, even exciting; but there is no sensation which can equal that which comes when the exertion of every last ounce of power has pushed the ball over the goal line or when some Daly or Mahan has eluded the tacklers and is off down the field for a touchdown. It happens, too, that Phillips Academy has always excelled in football, and that a considerable number of her "old boys" have been ranked among the finest players of their time.

Some form of football was popular in the school long before the Civil War. A match is recorded between the Senior class of 1856 and the Middlers for the possession of a trophy — a wooden horn decorated lavishly with paint. The game, which was played in the rear of Bartlet Hall, was won by '56, whose team was headed by Othniel C. Marsh, afterwards the famous palæontologist. "Uncle Sam" and Mr. Fenn, of the Faculty, were present, and the latter made a congratulatory speech. After the contest was over a cold lunch was served, and the heroes of the day were called upon for a "few words."

Some idea of the unsystematized and haphazard

nature of these games may be gathered from a description by Cornelius L. Kitchel of a typical football contest in 1857. After an early supper the boys usually gathered back of the Seminary buildings in a field which was covered with small boulders and ornamented here and there with sharp, rocky ledges of interest rather to geologists than to sportsmen. Here two of the leaders would "choose up sides." In the beginning there would be perhaps only twenty-five or thirty on a team, but the numbers would gradually increase until seventy or eighty players were facing a group of approximately equal size.

The side to which either gave the ball always went out to the far end of the field, faced back again towards the Seminary, and deputed one of their number to "raise" the ball; that is, kick it from a well-selected place on the ground, high and far over towards the ranks of the opponents, ranged say two or three hundred feet before them. . . . Football was then *foot* ball, and not hand ball or arm ball, as chiefly now. It was not fair to catch or hold the ball, and it was dead the moment it was held, as it was also if it went out of bounds on either side. Then it had to be "umpired," as the term was. The fellow who held the ball tossed it up straight as might be into the air; both sides crowded thick about him "on side," ready to smite it with fist, or beat it down, or gain any advantage. Then mighty was the struggle. The heaviest and stoutest, who nowadays would be the rush line, but fifty or sixty of them, leaped and pushed and struggled and struck towards the ball. Back of them the lighter and fleeter men, who would play half-back now, waited eagerly if by chance the ball were dashed near them.

The ball in those days was round, not oval. The goals were simply the stone walls at the two ends

of the long field. Playing "off side," which was not considered good sportsmanship, was known as "peanutting." Mr. Kitchel has some interesting comments on certain features of this older branch of the game: —

> To a modern football player this may all seem unscientific and barbarous. Largely the game was undeveloped, to be sure, but the opposing sides were by no means mere mobs. The center, the guards, the tackles, the ends, and the backs were all there, only more of them and unnamed as yet, but doing their work respectively in no mean way. Two advantages must be admitted over the present game. The attack was then on the ball and not, as now, upon the player so largely, and so the brutal element and the dangerous element were pretty much eliminated. And second, the whole school could play, and have the pleasure and benefit of it. Now it is twenty-two men who play, and the multitude look on; then it was the multitude that played and the twenty-two or less who looked on.

On November 20, 1865, the Trustees voted to transform the open space between the two rows of "Commons" into a playground, and some necessary grading was begun. On this Campus football was being played when Dr. Bancroft became Principal. Intercollegiate football had as yet hardly started. The first Harvard Football Club was organized December 6, 1872, and the Harvard-McGill game in 1874 was the first intercollegiate Rugby contest ever held in the United States. Harvard and Yale first met in football in 1875. In that same fall a boy named Thomas W. Nickerson, who had learned something of Rugby while at school in Boston, came to Phillips Academy, taught his comrades the rules, and formed an eleven, of which he was both captain and coach. After some

practice this crude team arranged a match with Adams Academy at Quincy, and were defeated, although Nickerson played well and made Andover's only touchdown.

Although Nickerson left in 1876, the sport was now well established, and in that autumn two games were played, the first of which, with the Harvard Freshmen, was an overwhelming defeat for Andover. The story of the second game, played at Quincy against Adams Academy, has some interesting features. After being escorted to the station by "Mr. Scranton," the Chairman of the Football Committee, the eleven left Andover on the 9.25 train, and, after reaching Boston, went direct to the Parker House, where shortly before noon they ate an enormous dinner. The game was called at three o'clock, with five hundred spectators present. Three half-hour periods were played, Andover getting a touchdown in the first and a goal in the third, while Adams made no score. After the contest the Adams eleven invited the Phillips men to a "handsomely-prepared supper," in the course of which the Principal of the rival school entered and made a very polite speech. Meanwhile the news of the victory, which had been telegraphed at once to Andover, was followed there by the ringing of bells and the making of preparations for receiving the heroes.

When the train came in, the "fish-horns" were perfectly deafening. The players were instantly carried on the shoulders of their friends from the train to a wagon. Not one was allowed to touch his foot to the platform of the depot. Then the procession started up Main Street, where,

in front of the post-office, three rousing cheers were given. When the line reached Love Lane [now Locke Street], it of course turned down and continued till it came to School Street, and then turned up through the Abbot Academy grounds; then to the Principal's house, where cheers were indulged in by the students in general, to which he replied with the laconic speech of "Oh, boys, you did nobly." Then the parade proceeded to the Mansion House, where Captain Bliven was called upon for a speech.

After this phase of the jubilation was over Scranton invited the eleven and the substitutes into the Mansion House for a bountiful supper which had been prepared for the emaciated athletes. There, when they had done justice to their third huge meal since eleven o'clock, the players managed to edify one another with a few more speeches and then retired. This, the first account of a celebration which can be discovered, shows how many of the now well-established traditions sprang into being. Only a bonfire and a band were lacking to make the affair like a celebration forty years later.

Encouraged by this success, the Football Committee in the fall of 1877 sent a challenge to Exeter, but no game could be arranged on such short notice. Four other contests, however, were scheduled, of which Andover captured only one, that against the Tufts Freshmen. The expenses of the team, about $125, were met by subscription, no admission being charged to the games. The players used the old suits that had been worn by the eleven of the previous year.

Football history at Andover really opens on Saturday, November 2, 1878, when the Exeter eleven, accompanied by about eighty student supporters, came

to Andover for the first football contest between the schools. The game was played in two periods of 45 minutes called "three-quarters"; in the first Andover made four touchdowns, in the second one touchdown and one goal. The Exeter team, which had never played a match game up to that time, did not score. The primitive nature of the game is indicated by the fact that at one point proceedings were interrupted by a spirited cane rush between '80 and '81. Each team was made up of six "Rushers," three "Half-Tends," and two "Tends." The stars of the Andover eleven were Frank Parsons, the captain; F. W. Rogers, one of the "Tends" or "Backs"; Corwith, a "Half-Tend," who, according to the *Essex Eagle*, "especially distinguished himself by his running and dodging"; and P. T. Nickerson, a brother of the Nickerson of '76, who made two of the five touchdowns. In this year the members of the team wore canvas jackets, which proved to be of great advantage to them. The Exeter eleven were entertained by the Andover team at lunch, and after the game the Exeter men were given a dinner at "Hatch's" and then escorted politely to the station. The Andover boys then, according to the *Phillipian*, "gave vent to their feelings by drawing the eleven around to the houses of the teachers and extracting a speech or cheer from every one." The Exeter correspondent of the *Phillipian* wrote shortly after: —

> The football eleven returned from Andover in good spirits, sorry of course that they had been defeated, yet with a high appreciation of the entertainment they had received from the Andover eleven.

The days of abnormal absorption in athletics had not yet arrived, and it was necessary to use extra efforts in order to arouse enthusiasm. The first number of the *Phillipian* contains a plea for better support from the school: —

> Every student in an academy like this should be interested in athletic sports. The very scholarly student often makes the excuse that he don't understand the games, and really has not time for them. And so the physical sports are left to a certain class, who, while they are perfectly willing to incur all the expense, are obliged too frequently to resort to the subscription list or hat-passing.

The failures of the season of 1879 were attributed by the captain, P. T. Nickerson, to "disinterestedness [*sic*] and laziness." In a contribution to the *Mirror* he volunteered several suggestions: —

> No one should be a member of the eleven unless he be willing to train, and appear five afternoons of the week for practice. Class games should be played. There should be players trained to such a degree of perfection that any vacancy could be filled at a moment's notice. Above all, drop kicking should be practiced unceasingly.

In 1880 the names of the positions were somewhat modified: on Captain Howard's team of that year there were six "Forwards" or "Rushers," one "Quarter-Back," two "Half-Backs," and two "Backs." In 1882 the places differed very little from those to-day: seven "Rushers," a "Quarter-Back," two "Half-Backs," and one "Back" or "Full-Back."

In 1881 the Andover rooters were at last permitted to accompany their team to Exeter, and over two hundred of them saw Captain "Sam" Bremner and

his men, in a heavy downpour of rain, win out with a goal and a touchdown to nothing. On the eleven of the next year, 1882, the most brilliant player was "Kid" Wallace, who won a well-deserved reputation as a plunging half-back. When he came to Phillips Academy, he was a hollow-chested youngster, nervous, and averse to sport; Frank Dole, however, induced him to take boxing lessons, awakened his interest in athletics, and developed him into a famous football player. The Exeter game, after having been once postponed because of bad weather, was finally held on a field which had been cleared by the boys of three inches of snow; Andover again won, three touchdowns to nothing.

The team for 1883, which won from Exeter, 17 to 6, and did not lose a game throughout the season, owed its success largely to its captain, D. E. Knowlton. The *Phillipian* said of him: —

> Many an afternoon this fall there would have been no practice game unless our captain had gone after his men personally. This is no small strain on a man's energy; but besides this he has to make all the arrangements for games, and, of course, is more or less worried about the games and matters in general.

One of the "Rushers" on this famous eleven was "Billy" Odlin, who afterwards organized football at Dartmouth. Odlin was a remarkable kicker, and, while at Andover, once made a placed kick for a field goal from the center of the field — an extraordinary feat under any circumstances. Odlin was captain at Andover for both 1884 and 1885. In 1884 his eleven, largely because of the remarkable kicking of Cullinane,

quite unexpectedly defeated Exeter, 11 to 8. In 1885 Exeter won on her home grounds, 29 to 11, and Andover's lean years had begun.

On the 1886 team were "Billy" Graves, son of Professor Graves, as full-back, and Cecil K. Bancroft, the "Doctor's" eldest son, as quarter-back, with "Joe" Dennison as captain. The Exeter game, played in a disagreeable windy drizzle on a muddy field, ended in an inglorious defeat for Andover. Exeter's quarter-back outwitted his opponents by taking advantage of the rules and running back ten yards when his team had not made the necessary distance; in this way he retained the ball for Exeter. The *Phillipian*, in a mood of peevish despondency, could not restrain its irritation: —

> In our recent contests with Exeter we have been unpleasantly surprised to find that our opponents' tactics have savored strongly of professionalism, and while we cannot but praise the strong, intelligent work of their representatives, we are forced to condemn the unscrupulous trickery to which they resorted for the accomplishment of their ends.

The irregular methods of training used in 1886 aroused the students, and in 1887 the team for the first time had a coach, S. K. Bremner, captain of the victorious team of 1881, who contributed his services. Exeter, however, had an eleven which included Lee McClung and Harding, and against this clever combination Andover seemed helpless. For the third successive year Exeter, as "Bill" Edwards says, "carried home the bacon."

In 1888 Andover had, in its turn, a group of spec-

tacular players, including "Pop" Bliss as captain, "Laurie" Bliss, his brother, "Lou" Owsley as quarterback, and "Big" Coxe as guard. The Exeter game took place in a heavy rain; just before the end of the first half "Pop" Bliss received the ball from his brother "Laurie" on a criss-cross play, then little understood, and ran through the Exeter defense for a touchdown. When another touchdown was made in the second half, the Andover boys went wild, and the celebration that evening let loose the pent-up enthusiasm of three painful years. The spell of what the "Doctor" called "chronic defeat" was at last broken.

The unfortunate baseball fracas in the spring of 1889 prevented a football game with Exeter in the following autumn, and the two schools did not again meet on the gridiron until 1890. On Andover's eleven was the famous Frank Hinkey, who has been called "the greatest end that was ever on a field" and who later captained Yale in her memorable contest with Harvard at Springfield in 1894. Odlin, who had finished his course at Dartmouth, returned to Andover as coach, and Captain Townsend's team closed the season with a victory over Exeter, 16 to 0. Once more the "roosters" appeared on the front page of the *Phillipian*. At the 1891 game, played at Exeter, over eight hundred Andover supporters were present, and tally-hos, gayly decked with flaunting blue and white ribbons, carried parties of students from the Exeter Station to the field. Fortunately the eleven realized the hopes of its backers and won handily, 26 to 10. The situation was reversed in the following year, how-

GAMES ON THE CAMPUS

THE PHILLIPS CLUB, FORMERLY THE TREASURER'S OFFICE

ever, when the team lost nine of its thirteen games, including the Exeter contest. On the Andover eleven, besides Captain W. B. Hopkins, were several players who later won national reputations: "Fred" Murphy, Louis Hinkey, "Jim" Rodgers, and "Eddie" Holt.

"Jim" Rodgers, captain at Yale in 1897, was in 1893 a boy of seventeen with long hair of a very light shade, which made him conspicuous on the field. It was when he was captain at Andover that the most serious of the breaks with Exeter took place. In the annual contest, which was held at Exeter on November 11, the Exeter team, which was unusually heavy, won from Andover, 26 to 10, chiefly through the marvelous running of her half-back, "Pooch" Donovan, and his team-mate, Smith. It was commonly asserted on that day, and soon proved beyond reasonable doubt, that at least two of the Exeter players had been professional athletes. On November 27, after the facts became known, the Andover undergraduate body voted unanimously to postpone indefinitely all further contests with Exeter. Relations were not resumed until the fall of 1896.

During this period of three years games were scheduled between Andover and Lawrenceville. The results, however, were not altogether satisfactory. Lawrenceville was well qualified to be a rival of Andover; indeed Andover was defeated by her in three successive seasons. But the distance was too great to allow all the members of the visiting school to attend the contests, and, as a result, it was difficult to maintain enthusiasm among the students. "Bill" Edwards describes with great glee the game in 1894, when he,

a Lawrenceville boy, played against Andover. "Eddie" Holt, Andover's giant guard, towered above all the members of his team, and, aided by "Johnnie" Barnes, the quarter-back, made spectacular rushes. The Lawrenceville eleven, however, recovered from their alarm, and soon showed their superiority; they won decisively, 22 to 6. In the following year Edwards played against "Doc" Hillebrand, who was later a great athlete at Princeton. Towards the end of the game, which was held at Lawrenceville, the score was 12 to 6 in favor of the home team. Goodwin, who had made Andover's first touchdown, then carried the ball down the field for a second one. Everything centered on the attempt at a goal. If Butterfield, Andover's half-back, could succeed, the score would be a tie. His kick went over the posts to the right, and the referee shouted out "Goal!" After consulting with the umpire and the linesmen, however, he changed his decision, and the Andover men had to go home disappointed.

Early in the fall of 1896, after some preliminary correspondence between Dr. Bancroft and Principal Amen of Exeter, the question of renewing relations with Exeter was brought up and referred to the Athletic Advisory Committee. At a conference held a few weeks later in Haverhill an agreement was drawn up between the two academies, providing for a strict enforcement of the rules against professionalism. This arrangement was gratifying to both schools, for they are natural rivals, like Harvard and Yale, and the situation for the preceding three years had been unsatisfactory. Captain Barker's team in this season

contained several fine players, including Shirley Ellis, the right guard, Pierson, the center, and Frank Quinby, the quarter-back. This eleven won the Exeter game decisively, 28 to 0, but was beaten by Lawrenceville.

Perley Elliot's team in 1897 was defeated by Exeter in a heartbreaking contest, in which Andover, after eighteen points had been run up against her, seemed to take new life and pushed the ball steadily through her opponents for two touchdowns and a safety, only to have time called when she was apparently on the road to victory. A week later the eleven had their long-delayed revenge on Lawrenceville by winning from her, 44 to 4. On the team in this year was Ralph Davis, afterwards an all-American player at Princeton, who was captain at Andover in 1899, when, with an eleven made up of such men as "Dutch" Levine, Ralph Bloomer, "Charlie" Rafferty, and "Doggie" Collins, he defeated "Jim" Hogan's Exeter team, 17 to 0. In 1900, however, Hogan "came back," and won from Andover, 10 to 0.

The well-known "Pa" Corbin, who came to Andover in 1901 to assist Shirley Ellis in coaching, was given an appointment in 1902 as regular coach, and served through the season of 1904. The team of 1902, headed by "Jack" Cates, defeated an Exeter eleven weighing on the average ten pounds more to a man; but in the two following seasons Andover was badly beaten. In 1905 Dr. John O'Connor, of Dartmouth, was engaged as coach, and under him and his successor, W. Huston Lillard, Andover won eight consecutive victories over her rival — an extraordinary

record to those who realize how strong the Exeter elevens were during that period. In those eight years Andover scored 109 points to Exeter's 11. The games are too near our own time to need description. Fred Daly's eleven of 1906, on which were such players as Kilpatrick, "Bob" Fisher, "Bob" McKay, and "Tony" Haines (one of the longest kickers ever on an Andover team), was exceptionally strong. So also was the famous team of 1911, captained by Van Brocklin, on which were "Eddie" Mahan, "Pete" Fletcher, "Red" Brann, and other noted players. One incident which will be long remembered was "Rib" Porter's goal from the field in 1909, which won an exceptionally close contest for his team.

Concerning the four years following 1912 Andover men prefer to be uncommunicative, for they were marked by victories for Exeter — victories the first three of which were so overwhelmingly decisive that "old grads" almost wept to read of them. It is small consolation to be reminded that of the thirty-six games played since 1878 Andover has won nineteen to Exeter's fifteen, two contests having been "ties."

So many players on Andover elevens have won fame either at Phillips Academy or at college that it is almost a hopeless task to select a few for special mention. There is a small group, like Frank Hinkey, '91; "Laurie" Bliss, '91; Fred T. Murphy, '93; "Doc" Hillebrand, '96; Ralph Davis, '99; Pierson, '99; Fred Daly, '07; and "Eddie" Mahan, '12, who were such giants in their day that they must be placed on a mythical "all-Andover" line-up. Worthy to be classed with these heroes are several others, such as "Kid"

Wallace, '84; "Billy" Odlin, '86; Vance McCormick, '91; "Jim" Rodgers, '94; "Eddie" Holt, '94; "Tommy" Thompson, '05; "Eddie" Dillon, '05; and "Ham" Andrus, '06. Even with these additions, however, the list is far from complete. We cannot omit the Nickerson brothers, "Fred" Rogers, and "Chummy" Eaton in the "seventies." In the "eighties," too, there were many stalwart backs and linemen: D. E. Knowlton, captain of the undefeated team of 1883; George Carter, W. H. King, and Cullinane of '85; "Billy" Graves, '87; L. D. Mowry, '89, afterwards at Princeton; "Pop" Bliss and "Joe" Upton, '89; and "Tommy" Cochran, '90. Captain Townsend, '91, afterwards went to Williams, where he distinguished himself by going into the line-up against Dartmouth when, with a temperature of 105°, he was in the early stages of typhoid fever. Among others in the "nineties" were "Jim" Knapp, '92; "Louie" Hinkey, "Dick" Armstrong, and W. B. Hopkins, '93; "Jim" Greenway and "Johnnie" Barnes, '96; Shirley Ellis and Frank Quinby, '99; Wilhelmi, '99; Rafferty, Bloomer, and Butkiewicz, '00. Many players since 1900 are not likely to be soon forgotten: Kinney, Matthews, Leavenworth, "Dutch" Levine, "Doggy" Collins, Veeder, "Tony" Haines, "Jack" Cates, Bartholomew, Kilpatrick, "Hennie" Hobbs, "Dutch" Schildmiller, "Bob" McKay, "Bob" Fisher, Fred J. Murphy, "Rib" Porter, Van Brocklin, "Pete" Fletcher, "Sid" York, "Chub" Sheldon, Trevor Hogg, "Mac" Baldrige — but the list is almost interminable. Some men, also, like Robert E. Speer, '86, and S. F. B. Morse, '03, showed no particular ability on Andover teams,

but were afterwards at college among the finest players of their day.

It is vain speculation, too, to occupy one's self with the problem of choosing the best eleven that ever represented Phillips Academy. One generation will refer to Knowlton's team of 1883; another will prefer that of 1888; men of a later time will insist that Ralph Davis's eleven in 1899 could never be surpassed; and recent graduates, remembering Mahan, Van Brocklin, and the team of 1911, cannot believe that any secondary school ever had a stronger aggregation.

Those who have never seen an Andover-Exeter football game can hardly have a comprehension of the excitement which accompanies it. For a week preceding the contest the players are cheered every morning as they enter chapel. On the evening before the big day a mass-meeting is held in the Gymnasium, at which the captain, the coach, popular teachers, and graduates stir up enthusiasm. On the fateful morning the boys awake nervous and expectant. The instructor who hopes to have good recitations is likely to be sadly disappointed; he is far wiser who frankly accepts the situation and adapts his pedagogy to it. An hour before the game the students of each school march in a long line to the field, keeping step to a monotonous shout made by naming out the letters A–N–D–O–V–E–R or E–X–E–T–E–R. The noise on the bleachers, from the minute when the players with their huge "A's" or "E's" on their sweaters run on the gridiron until the last whistle is blown, rivals that at a Harvard-Yale contest. Each boy has a megaphone into which he yells, guided by the weird

gesticulations and gyrations of the cheer leaders, who dance in strange procession along the front of the stands; and the fervor is so unrestrained that it rouses even a casual visitor from his middle-aged lethargy. Each academy has its songs, which are rendered with as much melody and vigor as can issue from five hundred worn and raucous throats. When the contest is finally over, hats and megaphones are tossed into the air on the winning side, and the boys run to carry the players off the field. Hardly one of the five or six thousand spectators can keep from adding his applause to the turmoil around him, especially if he has affiliations with either of the academies.

The rivalry nowadays is keen, as it ought to be; but it is more sane, more sportsmanlike, than it was forty years ago. The antagonism between the two schools was at one time almost savage, and even to-day, in a rare and individual case, this same brutal spirit sometimes reappears; but it is invariably concealed by outward courtesy. Those who recall the fierce struggles of the "eighties" sometimes find it hard to reconcile themselves to the present amicable relations between Andover and Exeter; but they are usually willing to admit that the modern way is better than the old one. The two schools, even in defeat, cheer each other loudly. The *Exonian* and the *Phillipian*, forgetful of their ancient animosity, are now at peace. The players themselves are no less manly, no less eager to win; but professional methods are frowned on and tricky play is not encouraged. The rivalry now is of the finest sort — that which is mingled with respect and admiration for the opposing team.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LURE OF THE GAME

FRESH faces in the Gym appear,
New knives cut other names;
Fresh sinners carry on, I fear,
Our very same old games.

ATHLETICS in Phillips Academy mean far more than the yearly struggles with Exeter. The good old doctrine of "sport for sport's sake" has always been part of the academic gospel, and boys are led to stretch their muscles for sheer delight in physical exercise. It has been the ambition of the school to arouse in the undergraduates a love for games, not so much for the victory which may be won — although it would be hypocrisy to pretend that success is undesirable — as for the pleasure of matching skill against skill, brawn against brawn. To this end there should be games of every sort, for the strong, for the agile, for the swift — even for the feeble and the clumsy. Schools, within the last half-century, have learned that the care of the body is an essential part of education.

After the "stone shell of a building" on Chapel Avenue was given to Professor Stowe as a home, the "theologues" and the "cads" had a gymnasium in common in a large wooden structure in the rear of the Seminary, which was scantily equipped with apparatus. Samuel W. Abbot in 1853 received a ticket entitling him to the privileges of the "Phillips Gymnasium." In presenting this card to the school many years later, Dr. Abbot wrote: —

To the daily use of this Gymnasium in 1853–54 I have been wont to attribute improved health while at Andover and years afterward in a constitution not naturally robust.

On July 24, 1865, the Trustees, after the burning of the Stone Academy, resolved that, when the new Main Building was finished, the old "Brick Academy" should be fitted out as a gymnasium. Within a year they appropriated $1000 for this purpose, and engaged Sereno D. Gammell to act as Teacher of Gymnastics. On February 14, 1867, "Uncle Sam" announced that the new Gymnasium would be open that evening: Seniors were to come at 4.50 o'clock, Middlers at 5.25, and Juniors at 8 in the morning. The first floor was arranged for four bowling alleys; the gymnasium appliances were placed on the second floor, at the north end of which ran a low gallery.

In this gymnasium the equipment was meager and the apparatus was inadequate and poorly kept. As exercise was not compulsory, the work there, after the initial enthusiasm had died out, was usually desultory and confined chiefly to rainy afternoons. Nevertheless instructors were employed, and a few boys derived considerable benefit. Boxing, especially in the seventies and eighties, became popular, and Frank Dole, the boxing-master, had many pupils. Mr. McCurdy and Professor Coy had many bouts, and on one occasion the latter appeared in the classroom with his features somewhat damaged. Once when two boys were disputing in Coy's recitation room, he suddenly came in, opened a drawer in his desk, took out a set of gloves, and told the wranglers to fight it out.

In the fall of 1878, or possibly before, the students began to become interested in track games. There was then no running-track and the contests in sprinting and jumping had to be held down the Elm Walk on the Theological Campus. Little real excitement was developed, however, and contemporary comments show that the "tournament" was treated as a humorous diversion. At about this period, also, winter "tournaments" in the Gymnasium were started. That of March 5, 1884, was reported by the *Phillipian* to be "excellent." The spring outdoor "tournament" in 1885 offered a varied list of events: 100 yards dash, kicking football, sack race, 220 yards dash, potato race, throwing baseball, standing long jump, slow bicycle race, mile run, throwing the hammer, three-legged race, running high jump, and tug of war. The shot-put had to be omitted because the shot could not be found. The *Phillipian* was amused because the mile run was held over a course which was up a hill on part of each lap.

It was natural that the next step should be a "tournament" with Exeter, and such a match might have been arranged in 1888 if it had not been for the fact that Andover, without either a board track or a cinder path for practice, felt herself poorly equipped for meeting her rival. Mr. George D. Pettee, a young instructor much interested in track sports, offered in 1888 a silver cup to the winner of a cross-country run. In the following spring he succeeded in arranging for a meet with Exeter, to be held at Exeter on the same day as the tennis tournament. The Andover mile runners practiced daily on the "old turnpike," and the

sprinters hardened their muscles by walks around the Campus. Under the circumstances Andover did extraordinarily well to carry off first places (the only ones to count) in six out of the nine events. The records of Phillips Academy as published May 25, 1889, show that much training was needed: running broad jump, 18 feet, 7 inches; 16-pound shot, 32 feet, 6 inches; pole vault, 8 feet, 6 inches; mile run, 5 minutes, 20 seconds; half-mile run (held by Yan Che, '80), 2 minutes, 45½ seconds.

Meanwhile progress was being made towards a track. James C. Sawyer, now Treasurer of Phillips Academy, as manager of the football team of 1889 had cleared $450, an unusually large sum for those days, which, in the spring of 1890, was, by school vote, expended in work on a cinder path. Other sums, collected by subscription or received in donations, were also devoted to this purpose, and, on Monday, May 4, 1891, the track was formally opened, Mr. Pettee and Captain Townsend jogging around it at the head of the track squad. Its cost in all was $1134.88. On this new track, with a revised system of scoring which gave points to second and third places, Andover in 1891 defeated Exeter, 46 to 44. In the meet for 1892, held at Exeter, three records were broken by Andover men, Davis, the captain, doing the half-mile in 2 minutes, 4⅖ seconds, which was then very fast time. Sheldon, of the Academy team, held at this date six of the school records.

Although track athletics are regarded as one of the "major sports," they have never aroused the intense excitement created by baseball and football. Meets

with Exeter have regularly been held, except in the three years from 1894 to 1897, and in 1905, when a mild scarlet fever epidemic kept the Andover team from leaving town. An interesting situation developed in connection with the meet of 1906. It was announced at the time as being in favor of Exeter, 49 to 47, but a decision afterwards handed down in regard to a protested jump by one of Andover's representatives gave the victory to Andover, $48\frac{1}{2}$ to $47\frac{1}{2}$. This is probably the only occasion in the history of the two schools when a celebration for the same contest was held by both institutions. The Exeter jubilation was more spontaneous, but Andover had the satisfaction of laughing last.

Andover's records in track and field events compare favorably with those of most colleges. Prescott's mark in the broad jump, 23 feet, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, made in 1914, has never been equaled by a boy in a preparatory school. Schick, '01, has the distinction of holding the record of $21\frac{1}{5}$ seconds in the 220 yards dash and of 51 seconds in the 440 yards dash, as well as of being a joint holder, with Sumner, Bartholomew, and Burrill, of the time of 10 seconds in the century run. The distances in the shot-put and the hammer-throw still stand where they were set by "Ham" Andrus in 1906. The mark of 2 minutes, $32\frac{2}{5}$ seconds in the half-mile, made by W. T. Laing in 1895, is the only record set before 1900 which has not been surpassed.

In 1886 there was some discussion over the question of organizing a crew, and, after $400 had been subscribed, the Faculty finally consented to allow

candidates to make use of the Lawrence Canoe Club on the Merrimack River. The Yale Boat Club, recognizing the wisdom of assisting to develop men for its own crew, contributed two eight-oar shells and one four-oar shell, and offered to provide a coach. During the winter term candidates trained assiduously in the gymnasium, and, in the spring, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons were devoted to practice. A concert given at the Town Hall in support of the project was well attended; but unfortunately no outside competition could be arranged, and the excitement, which had been somewhat artificially stimulated, died down nearly as rapidly as it had risen. Since then there has been intermittent talk of boating as different generations of boys have come to Andover; but the sport has never been resumed. There are several difficulties involved. As the distance to available water is considerable, the labor of training would be very great and would demand altogether too much time. There is the further consideration that outside activities at present probably occupy too many hours a week. Men, moreover, would be attracted into rowing at the expense of the other spring games, track athletics and baseball, and the teams would be much weakened. It is improbable that boating will ever be taken up seriously at Phillips Academy.

A tennis association which was formed in 1884 met with hearty support, especially from men who, without the peculiar qualities demanded for football and baseball, nevertheless wanted some game in which they might excel. The earliest tournament with Exeter was held October 15, 1884, at which time

Fitch, of Andover, won the singles, the doubles going to Exeter. About twenty-five Andover "rooters" accompanied their representatives to Exeter, and a celebration was held in town on their arrival home. In 1885 the game was so well established that it was necessary to lay out new courts in front of the Main Building. In 1887 we learn that there were six grass courts in use: one of these was reserved for the team; the others were annually sold at auction to groups of students, who thus obtained exclusive use of them through the season: $30.75 was offered for the court in the best condition, and the entire five brought in $91.25. In 1888, after a special plea from the team, several dirt courts were constructed. In recent years the grass courts have been abandoned, and the Athletic Association now has twenty dirt courts available for the school. Tournaments are held every year with Exeter and other institutions. Boys play tennis, however, not because they are looking for glory, but because they enjoy the sport, and its value in giving recreation and pleasure is obviously very great.

The building of the new Gymnasium in 1902 turned the attention of the boys to basketball. A five was soon formed, and, in the first contest ever played by an Andover team, the Harvard Freshmen were defeated, 43 to 29. The season thus fortunately opened was continued without a defeat. In the following years Andover teams had some unusually successful seasons. Captain Snell's five in 1909 went through a schedule of twelve games, nearly all against strong opponents, and did not lose a game. In 1911, however, after a lean season in which student support was

noticeably lacking, basketball as a competitive sport with other schools was abandoned. Interclass contests in basketball are still held, and there is some possibility that interest in it may be revived.

Hockey and swimming have, to a large extent, filled the place formerly occupied by basketball. Skating has always been popular in Andover, and cold winter afternoons have found Rabbit's Pond, Pomp's Pond, and Martin's Pond sprinkled with Phillips boys. As early as 1898 a hockey team was formed, although in that year the solitary game played resulted in a defeat by Technology. Since then the game has persisted against many difficulties: the Andover climate is so uncertain that a thaw is likely to come at any moment; the school has as yet no covered rink, and a snowstorm usually means that the ice will be spoiled; and there are no convenient places where spectators can gather to watch a contest. So desirable is it that hockey should not be given up that the Athletic Association is making a strenuous effort to secure a covered rink; when this is obtained, hockey will be put upon a new basis.

Swimming, especially since the construction of the pool in 1911, has attracted large numbers of boys during the winter. Under the direction of a remarkably efficient coach, Alec Sutherland, the Andover swimming teams have made some notable performances. In 1914 the relay "four" broke the world's interscholastic record for 200 yards, covering the distance in 1 minute, 45$\frac{4}{5}$ seconds. In the same season Andover won from Harvard, Amherst, and Springfield Training School, as well as from several

secondary institutions. Every student in Phillips Academy is obliged to learn how to swim.

At various periods in the last thirty years other sports have enjoyed temporary favor. A golf club, organized in the "nineties," provided recreation for teachers and townspeople as well as students, and a small clubhouse was erected overlooking Rabbit's Pond, where the members could gather on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. The course, however, was not particularly interesting, and the players, when they had attained some proficiency, preferred to seek longer holes and deeper sand-traps at Myopia or Brookline. In 1908 the links were given up, and golf enthusiasts in the school have now no solace except in practicing mashie shots on the Academy lawns.

A lacrosse association was formed as early as 1881, and the team played Harvard in the following spring; at intervals since that date, also, it has had a moderate popularity. To-day, however, it has been largely superseded by soccer, a game in which many boys take keen delight. Andover is quite able to hold her own in soccer with Harvard and Technology. The sport as yet does not arouse much excitement among the school at large, but it provides a game for boys who, too light for football, are nevertheless quick and dexterous. Chinese and Japanese students in particular have shown themselves exceedingly skillful. Cross-country running, wrestling, and gymnasium work have also their devotees; and those who are unfitted for any one of these numerous sports may join the "Hill and Dale Squad,"

and ramble about the Andover countryside. A rifle club, which has recently been organized for instruction in the use of the military rifle, has now an indoor range in the basement of Pearson Hall, and practices on various government ranges in the fall and spring.

It can readily be seen that physical exercise in Phillips Academy is certainly not confined to those who make the eleven or the nine. Even in the "nineties" various street teams, composed of men not on the Academy squad, were organized and played through an interesting schedule. In 1895, for instance, Latin Commons defeated Morton Street in the final game for the championship. Class contests have always been held, and, even when not taken very seriously, have kept the participants in the open air. In 1902, when Dr. Pierson S. Page came to Phillips Academy, it was still quite possible for an indolent and indifferent boy to avoid taking exercise. Dr. Page believed in compelling every student, not physically incapacitated, to participate regularly in some athletic sport suited to his abilities. This idea gradually won acceptance, until by 1906 even Seniors, who had previously claimed immunity, were obliged to submit. This highly beneficial reform made pointless the criticisms of those who had been maintaining that athletics in schools like Andover are for the few rather than for the many.

As the scheme is now in operation every boy in school, unless excused for good reasons, is given his choice of several sports: football, baseball, track athletics, tennis, soccer, cross-country, swimming, wrestling, gymnasium, or hill and dale. Those who

fail to make Academy teams are lined up for class games. The *Bulletin*, commenting in 1906 on this system of compulsory athletics, said: —

> A surprisingly large number of boys have heretofore held aloof from participating in school athletics, either from shyness or ignorance of the games, or from inertia. The results of the past few years are justifying the new requirement; the keen interest and pride in the school teams continue; but the overexcitement is lessened noticeably, and a saner, healthier participation in sports is growing throughout the school.

Those who can look back forty years have seen some striking changes in the facilities for athletics on Andover Hill. The playing-field which, in Dr. Taylor's time, had been laid out between the two rows of Commons buildings on what is now called the "Old Campus," was covered with stones and filled with holes. The land was originally marshy, and, after a downpour of rain, it resembled a bog. The class of 1881 originated a fund for the purpose of grading this area. In the summer of 1887 the ground was made fairly level by excavating huge boulders and shifting earth from one section to another, and a year later trenches were dug to carry off the water from the springs. In the fall of 1887, when this labor was going on, the football games were played on the meadow in the rear of the old Mansion House.

An old grandstand containing only a few seats was burned at a celebration in 1888, and in the following spring a new one was erected by a stock company which had been formed among the students by "Bert"

Addis, "Al" Stearns, and "Jim" Sawyer. The 174 shares of stock issued sold for $2 apiece; and admission was charged to the stand. When this structure, according to agreement, reverted to the school in June, 1890, the stockholders received their money with a dividend of 54 cents.

In spite of the occasional improvements made on the Old Campus the field was constantly a subject for complaint, and the boys clamored every year for arrangements more suited to a great school like Phillips Academy. When, therefore, it was reported in 1900 that a new athletic field was being projected, the tidings aroused unbounded enthusiasm. In December of that year Mr. George Brown Knapp (1836–), who had recently been elected a member of the Board of Trustees, offered to the Academy the sum of $7650, subject to a life annuity, for purchasing land for a playing-field. Some twenty-five acres were secured to the east of Highland Road and south of Salem Street; the ground was marshy, — indeed it had been used up to that time for a skating meadow in winter, — but it was reasonably level and conveniently located, and it was believed that it could easily be drained and graded. "Brothers' Field," as it was called at Mr. Knapp's request in memory of the affectionate relations between his deceased brother, Arthur Mason Knapp,[1] and himself, was opened and dedicated at Commencement, 1903, with a presenta-

[1] Arthur Mason Knapp came to Phillips Academy in 1863 as a teacher, just out of Harvard. During the year he was injured while playing ball with his students and had to resign; he was on crutches for several years and suffered during the rest of his life. For twenty-four years he held a responsible position in the Boston Public Library.

tion speech by the donor. As matters turned out, however, the project was much more expensive than had been anticipated. In 1901 Mr. Henry A. Morgan contributed the additional sum of $3000 for the purchase of another strip of land. Since that time the Athletic Association has been obliged to expend rather more than $30,000 in building grandstands, and in draining, leveling, and sodding the field. As it is now completed, Brothers' Field is perfectly arranged for athletic contests; it has a football gridiron and a baseball diamond, both for the use of the school teams; and there is a large amount of ground for practice in these and other sports. On the land still farther to the east a new cinder track and grandstand have been constructed, which were used first at the Andover-Exeter track meet in 1917.

Games are by no means confined to Brothers' Field. On the Old Campus, on the Main Campus, on the fields in the rear of Taylor Hall and Adams Hall, gridirons and diamonds are laid out at the proper season, and here interclass contests are held. On an autumn afternoon one may see on the Main Campus three football games and one soccer game going on at the same moment. The expanse is so broad that there is ample room for diversions of many sorts.

Before the close of Dr. Bancroft's administration a concerted effort had been made to raise money for a new Gymnasium. The building was made possible through the generous gift of $20,000 by Matthew Chaloner Borden (1842–1912), a Fall River manufacturer. This sum, added to other funds which had been collected, was quite sufficient for constructing

THE BORDEN GYMNASIUM

BROTHERS' FIELD

what was described by Judge Bishop in 1903 as "the finest and most complete gymnasium possessed by any secondary school in the country." When the building was opened for use in the winter of 1902, the boys had at last what they had prayed for during two decades: a suitable place for indoor exercise, recreation, and bathing. The beautiful swimming-pool which was added to the Gymnasium in the form of a wing in 1911 was made possible through the enterprise of the boys themselves. In an active campaign extending over several years they raised among the student body and friends of the school a sum large enough to start the work, and the Trustees lent the remainder of the amount required. The entire cost was not far from $30,000.

The management of athletics in Phillips Academy has gone through various vicissitudes. In the beginning the initiative came from the boys, who, with only nominal supervision from the Faculty, raised and spent money, and controlled the different branches of sport. When baseball and football contests with Exeter and other schools were arranged, the business details were lodged in the hands of committees chosen by the student body. These committees, usually one for each sport, not only carried on all correspondence, but for some years actually selected the players and appointed the captain. In 1881, for instance, J. G. Roe, S. K. Bremner, and F. S. Mills formed the Football Committee. In the fall of 1885 a committee of three, after watching practice for two weeks, picked a team and posted the names. These players then elected a captain, "Billy" Odlin, from their own num-

ber. When the system of outside coaching was introduced, the scheme of committee management was abolished. The captain was elected by the members of the team of the year before, and he, in consultation with the coach, decided upon the players in the actual games.

An admission fee to games was first charged in 1886; until that time all expenses were borne by subscriptions taken up among the students. In 1887 the football subscriptions amounted to $495.50 and the gate receipts to only $89.20. From that date on, however, the cost of athletics increased very rapidly; in 1894–95, for instance, the cost of football alone was $2012.14. The amount expended to-day is, of course, much larger.

Dr. Bancroft usually insisted on the wisdom of allowing the students to manage their own athletic interests; but the growing complexity and importance of athletics, and especially the difficulties which arose in connection with the breach between Andover and Exeter in 1889, convinced the Faculty that a somewhat tighter rein was needed. In 1892 a constitution was adopted placing all sports under the jurisdiction of a board, made up of the Graduate Treasurer, who was then Mr. Alfred L. Ripley, and the presidents of the four departmental branches of baseball, football, track, and tennis. In the following year this constitution was so amended as to make the chairman regularly a member of the Faculty. Under Mr. Archibald Freeman, the first chairman to be appointed, athletics were admirably directed. The make-up of the student section of the board was somewhat modified at vari-

ous times; but Mr. Freeman continued to serve as responsible head until 1906. Managers still retained much more freedom than they have to-day, for they were allowed, without supervision, to arrange their own schedules, to solve their own financial problems, to conduct unaided most matters of detail; so long as a manager showed himself competent, he was permitted to go his own way. In real crises, of course, the Faculty asserted their power; but it was seldom that the Athletic Advisory Committee, as it came to be called, could not control a situation.

When Mr. Freeman resigned his chairmanship in 1906, the Trustees appointed as his successor Dr. Pierson S. Page, the Physical Director. Dr. Page, as we have seen, had already been successful in his plan of requiring every boy in Phillips Academy to take some form of physical exercise. As a help to this general plan he had also instituted in 1904 a scheme for compulsory physical examination, which made it possible for him to ascertain a student's bodily deficiencies and to take the proper steps towards remedying them. Dr. Page also centralized the management of the various branches of athletics, and organized the games so that teams from the different classes had satisfactory training and coaching.

The "new system" in athletics, adopted in 1911, was suggested in part by Mr. W. Huston Lillard, who was at that time acting both as teacher and football coach. To the great principle originated by Dr. Page, — that every boy should be compelled to participate in outdoor games, — Mr. Lillard added certain other features which were intended to lessen

the notoriety then inflicted upon prominent "prep" school athletes and to decrease the emphasis which was placed on outside competition. Its essential points were these: that, after a series of interclass contests in which the teams should be coached by members of the Faculty, there should follow a short schedule of games with other institutions, and that candidates for the school team should be selected from the men who did best in these interclass competitions. Emphasis was laid particularly upon the decrease in the number of contests with outside teams, and upon the coaching by regular members of the Faculty. In practice the "new system" proved to have manifest defects, and it has subsequently been considerably modified, although Phillips Academy still adheres in part to the principles upon which it was based.

Andover men are proud of those shelves in the Gymnasium filled with trophies won on "diamond, field, and track." They like to gaze their fill on the long array of baseballs and footballs, each marked with the score of a victory over some rival and recalling so often a thrilling moment — perhaps a time when the eleven held on their own five-yard line or when a single hit to center brought in the critical run. But it is Andover's chief athletic distinction that every boy joins in the game. The hours spent upon the playing-field make not only for sound bodies, but also for keen minds, for fearless and robust character. There can be no nobler educational ideal.

CHAPTER XXV

PHILLIPS ACADEMY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

SHE is not dead,
She is no corpse engarlanded with spring,
Her ancient glory for pall above her spread;
She is alive perpetually, aye more,
She is forever young, and on her head
The light of every dawn.

THE present Principal has said very often in public that Phillips Academy is no longer a "one-man school." To a large extent this is true. With a permanent body of teachers and a coherent policy of administration the daily routine business may be carried along for a considerable period without either complications or misfortunes. In another sense, however, the necessity of firm and unified leadership is greater than at any time since 1778. The problems which arise to-day are far more intricate, far more engrossing, than those faced by Dr. Pearson and Dr. Taylor. Mistakes in management are likely to be very costly. Some person, then, must meet criticism, make decisions, and bear responsibility. All this, and more, it is the function of the Principal to do.

The smooth, steady course of years under the kindly "Doctor" had almost lulled people into the belief that his administration might go on indefinitely. The shock of his death was particularly disturbing to those who felt the obligation of naming his successor. Once again Professor Graves, called upon to serve as Acting Principal, proved to be equal to the task. There

was no change in methods, no alteration of rules, no relaxation of discipline. Improvements planned under Dr. Bancroft were carried on as if his mind had been there to direct them. The brick walls of the Gymnasium were steadily rising. The contract was let for the new athletic field, and the work of filling in the swampy hollow had begun. The old Brick Academy, which had been burned in 1896, was transformed into a dining-hall, and opened in 1902 with over two hundred students. A central heating-plant, with facilities for heating practically all the school buildings, was ready for use in December of that year. The progressive spirit which Dr. Bancroft had so typified was not to perish with him.

In reality the man for the office of Principal was close at hand. In the autumn of 1897 Alfred Ernest Stearns, Dr. Bancroft's nephew, had come to Phillips Academy, as teacher and director of athletics. Mr. Stearns, the son of a merchant in the East India trade, was born June 6, 1871, in Orange, New Jersey. One of his ancestors, Isaac Stearns, had sailed to America on the *Arbella* with the Reverend George Phillips in 1630. Two of his great-great-grandfathers, Jonathan French and Josiah Stearns, were members of the original Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy. His great-great-uncle, Dr. Jonathan French Stearns, was a founder of the Philomathean Society. His grandfather, Dr. William A. Stearns, President of Amherst College, was a graduate of Phillips Academy in the class of 1823. Mr. Stearns's relations with the school through family tradition were intimate and numerous.

Entering Phillips Academy in 1886, Mr. Stearns

ALFRED ERNEST STEARNS

had graduated in 1890, the best athlete and the most popular man in his class. During part of his course he roomed with James C. Sawyer, the future Treasurer of the Trustees, with whom, by an extraordinary coincidence, he was later to be closely associated in directing the fortunes of the school. In Andover Mr. Stearns was foreman of the fire department, a member of K.O.A., an editor of the *Phillipian*, tennis champion, captain of the baseball team, and president of Philo. At Amherst, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1894, he continued to win honors in athletics, public speaking, and scholarship. He was the finest second baseman of his day in the college world, and refused several offers to spend a year or two in professional ball. After graduation, he taught for three years in the Hill School, Pottstown, Pennsylvania. He then returned to Andover Hill, partly because he wished to pursue courses in the Theological Seminary, and partly because Dr. Bancroft had offered him some work in the Academy. For a few years, then, Mr. Stearns assisted in various capacities, as coach, registrar, instructor in history, and secretary to the Principal; indeed, during Dr. Bancroft's last vain struggle for health Mr. Stearns was his chief support and assumed voluntarily much of the onerous responsibility. In June, 1900, Mr. Stearns graduated from Andover Seminary; and on August 29 of the same year he married Miss Kate Deane, of Springfield, Massachusetts.

When Dr. Bancroft died, Mr. Stearns was only a few months over thirty years of age; but no one was more thoroughly acquainted than he with the school's

peculiar difficulties. Under the tutelage of Dr. Bancroft he had learned some vital lessons regarding the administration of an institution like Phillips Academy. Mr. Stearns was, moreover, exceedingly popular with his colleagues on the Faculty, who, associated with him in work and play, had come to appreciate highly his judgment and tact. It was quite natural, then, that, in spite of his comparative youth, the Trustees should turn to him as a successor to the "Doctor." On June 17, 1902, they created the office of Vice-Principal, to which they at once elected Mr. Stearns. He accepted the position, and conducted the school through a year rendered exceptionally trying by the necessity of confronting some serious situations. His election as Principal, which came on May 23, 1903, was merely the substantial recognition of the confidence which he had won in his probationary year. A tribute paid to him at this time by his friend, President Day, sums up the contemporary opinion: —

His own personal force of character, after all, constitutes the best equipment of Mr. Stearns. While he has as yet made no special mark as a scholar, he has the scholarly instinct and judgment, and has already shown his ability to master present and solve the new problems which the changing conditions of preparatory school work are bringing to the front. . . . As a moral force, and a friend and guide of boys, and as a sincere and devoted Christian, Mr. Stearns is a rare man. He combines a firm hand, a warm heart, sincerity, tact, and finality of moral decision in an unusual degree. The more he rules, the better his students like to have him rule. He has a personal magnetism that wins and holds. The older men feel that, and the boys

yield to it. It is a power born of truth to himself, and thus to his own experience and convictions.

The installation of Mr. Stearns as Principal happily coincided with the celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Phillips Academy, which took place at Commencement, 1903. On this occasion the guest of honor was Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, then Minister Plenipotentiary from the Chinese Empire to the United States, who had been a student at Phillips Academy in the class of 1882. Although the day was rainy and inauspicious, the programme was carried out successfully in the recently completed Borden Gymnasium. The exercises concluded with the dedication of Brothers' Field.

The interesting events of the present administration, so familiar to all the younger graduates, need only recapitulation. Under Mr. Stearns Phillips Academy has been literally transformed. To the casual visitor, of course, the most significant changes are those connected with the rapid growth and expansion of the school. A brief summary of what has been accomplished will be suggestive and convincing. The Archæology Building was completed and opened on April 23, 1903. Dr. Charles Peabody, of Cambridge, as representative of the donor, delivered an address, to which Judge Bishop, of the Trustees, responded. Mr. Stearns, Dr. Day, and Professor Putnam, of Harvard, also spoke. Mr. Warren King Moorehead was at this time installed as Curator of the Department of Archæology, and has since given it prestige by the expeditions which he has conducted and the volumes which he has published.

The erection of a fine modern building on this conspicuous corner made the demolition of the adjacent Commons buildings seem inevitable. The old Latin Commons, which presented an unsightly appearance along Phillips Street, were torn down, and the ground where they had stood was graded and sodded. By 1906, the English dormitories also had been sold, and the last one had been moved on rollers across the Old Campus to a new location, where it was to be used as a tenement. In the mean time more rooms were necessary for the school, and the Trustees took over the Brick House, the Farrar House, and the Eastman House in order to provide accommodations for the boys.

The disappearance of the Commons, however, was merely preliminary to a step of greater importance. For some years the attendance at Andover Theological Seminary had been steadily dwindling. It is probable that the ultimate effect of the heresy trials of the "eighties" had been to weaken public confidence in the institution; prospective theological students, moreover, saw broader opportunities in divinity colleges located in or near large cities. Shortly after 1900 even the professors realized that, unless the Seminary were to perish dismally of inanition, some radical change, either in policy or location, must be wrought. There were nearly as many instructors as there were pupils, and the large Seminary dormitories would have been almost deserted had it not been for the Academy boys who were allowed to fill up the empty rooms.

Of the many suggestions which were offered, the most sensible was the proposal to move the Seminary;

THE PROCESSION ON FOUNDERS' DAY, 1914

THE ARCHÆOLOGY BUILDING

and to this conclusion the Trustees had come as early as 1902. After consultation with President Eliot and the officers of the Harvard Divinity School, the Andover Trustees were able to perfect an arrangement by the terms of which the Seminary was to be removed to Cambridge, and affiliated with Harvard University, but to retain its identity, build and occupy its own lecture rooms and dormitories, preserve its separate funds and faculty, and grant its own degrees. Although there was some protest on sentimental grounds, a majority of the graduates of the Seminary were reported as being in favor of the proposed migration.

The legal complications connected with the disentangling of the Seminary and the Academy were somewhat puzzling. By the terms of their respective constitutions, it will be remembered, the same Board of Trustees controlled both schools. In March, 1907, however, a bill was passed by the General Court and signed by the Governor creating a new and separate Board of Trustees for Andover Theological Seminary. At an early meeting of this newly incorporated body, held in Boston, May 1, 1907, the members voted to transfer the Seminary to Cambridge. Most of the members of the old Board now one by one resigned from the recently formed Seminary Board, and new members were elected to fill the vacancies; by this scheme the two bodies were, within a very short period, entirely distinct. By an extraordinary turn of fate the Seminary, which had been founded in 1808 mainly as a protest against Harvard and its Unitarianism, was now to return, exactly a century

later, to be closely affiliated with the very institution which Eliphalet Pearson and Leonard Woods so much disliked and distrusted. From another point of view the step was the return of evangelical Congregational education for the ministry in Massachusetts to its ancient and original home, from which, in the opinion of many, it was a misfortune that it had ever been withdrawn. There was a true and high-minded sentiment in both views of the situation.

For Phillips Academy the transfer of the Seminary to Cambridge presented a glorious opportunity, but it also involved some uncomfortable financial problems. It was obvious that the school could not afford to lose the spacious Seminary plant, with its extensive grounds and fine old buildings. In anticipation of a plan for raising sufficient money to effect the purchase a bill was passed by the Legislature in 1905 permitting the Trustees to hold, in addition to the property which they then possessed, real and personal resources with an income up to $100,000. After a fair appraisement it was eventually agreed that the Seminary grounds on Andover Hill, including Phillips Hall, Bartlet Chapel, Bartlet Hall, Brechin Hall, several residences, and over two hundred acres of land, should be sold to Phillips Academy for the sum of $200,000. At once a "Seminary Purchase Fund" was started, the object being to raise, not only the necessary $200,000, but also $50,000 additional for the remodeling of the buildings. Towards this fund Mr. Andrew Carnegie promised $25,000, whenever the balance, $225,000, should be paid over to the Trustees. Through the unremitting labor and personal solici-

tation of Principal Stearns and Treasurer Sawyer the amount grew rapidly. By April, 1909, the sum of $96,000 had been secured; a year later only $56,000 was needed to complete the purchase. In 1916, his conditions having been met, Mr. Carnegie paid his contribution of $25,000, and the final payment to the Seminary was made.

With the school year opening September 16, 1908, Phillips Academy entered upon what has proved to be almost a new era in its history. Bartlet Hall and Phillips Hall, renovated during the preceding summer, were put into use as dormitories for the boys. Bartlet Chapel, rechristened "Pearson Hall," had been remodeled in the interior as a recitation building. New walks had been laid across the Seminary Campus. An article in the *Phillips Bulletin* describes the change as it appealed to the editor's imagination: —

> Phillips Academy no longer needs to point the inquiring stranger to its half-hidden buildings on side streets and alleys. With the beginning of the current school year the Academy enters upon a new and important chapter of its long and dignified history. To-day Andover Hill is Phillips Academy. Evidence of this fact is everywhere to be found. The lights twinkling by night from scores of windows in Bartlet and Phillips Halls; the shouts of a hundred boys scattered in play over the old Seminary Campus during recreation hours; the coming and going of classes in the new Pearson Hall, formerly Bartlet Chapel; all this, and more too, is confusing perhaps to the old alumnus who gazes for the first time upon the changed scene. But the significance of it all soon dawns upon him. This is the new Phillips, well equipped in buildings and grounds, unsurpassed in natural beauty of surroundings, capable of a larger and even more illustrious future.

Within two years more the removal of the Seminary books from Brechin Hall gave space for the location and expansion of a library which belonged to Phillips Academy alone; and it was not long before the school had its own librarian, for the first time in its period of existence. The ground floor of Brechin Hall was entirely rearranged, so that commodious offices were provided for the Principal, the Registrar, and the Treasurer, with their staff of assistants.

The acquisition of the Seminary land and buildings was especially important in that it was a further step towards the fulfillment of the dream of having all the boys live in Academy buildings. As rapidly as the necessary alterations could be made, several residences bought from the Seminary were made into "Faculty houses," with rooms for from five to twelve students, and quarters also for a married teacher and his family. These houses are intended particularly for younger boys who are not quite prepared for the freedom of dormitory life. In the summer of 1910 the Trustees were able to buy the large Williams residence on Phillips Street at a price so far below its actual value as to make it in part a gift from Professor Williams. "Williams Hall," as this was appropriately named, was turned into a dormitory for very young boys, who are here given especial care and attention. Williams Hall, unlike the other houses, has its own dining-room, and the students who live there must conform to special rules.

In the spring of 1910 the Trustees planned the erection of a new dormitory on land south of Bartlet Hall. Before the ground was broken, however, Mr.

Melville C. Day, who had already done so much for Phillips Academy, offered to provide the $50,000 required on very liberal terms; his proposition was accepted, and the building, when finished in the fall of 1911, was called "Day Hall." A second dormitory, the funds for which were secured by selling notes of $500 each to alumni and friends of the school, was started in March, 1911, and completed so that it was ready for occupation in the autumn. This dormitory was named "Bishop Hall," in memory of Judge Robert R. Bishop, President of the Board of Trustees from 1900 to 1903. A third new dormitory, the money for which was furnished by Mr. Day, was opened in September, 1912, and was given the title of "Adams Hall," in honor of Principal John Adams; and a fourth, also Mr. Day's gift, was ready in the autumn of 1913, at which time it was fittingly designated as "Taylor Hall," after Mr. Day's close friend, Professor John Phelps Taylor. Adams Hall and Taylor Hall differ from the other large dormitories in that they have apartments for married instructors, and are thus managed on the same general basis as the "Faculty houses." The architect of these dormitories, as of the Archæological Building, and of substantially all the buildings and reconstruction of buildings since 1901, was Guy Lowell of Boston.

At Commencement in 1906 Mr. Stearns had made an earnest plea for new dormitories, in the course of which he had pointed out that Phillips alumni hesitated to send their sons to the Academy unless they knew that the boys could be located in a school building. Eight years later he was able to report that six

large dormitories and nine "Faculty houses" had been added to the equipment, and that, day scholars excluded, all but about sixty of the students were living under the direct supervision of teachers. This comprehensive dormitory system has naturally been of incalculable service in promoting good order in the school and in eliminating many formidable disciplinary problems with which former Principals had to struggle. The relations between instructors and boys, moreover, have been very much bettered for a large part of the school; and the cost of education at Phillips Academy has been reduced.

Hardly was Taylor Hall, the last and most artistic of Mr. Day's gifts, completed when Mr. Day, who had been living for years in Florence, Italy, died in that city, December 29, 1913. In his will he bequeathed to Phillips Academy outright the sum of $300,000, and also made the school his residuary legatee. In the aggregate his donations to Phillips Academy amount to approximately $860,000.

Another phase of this general development was the opening of the Isham Infirmary on November 14, 1912. In Dr. Bancroft's day Phillips Academy had no facilities for treating sickness, and the Principal spent many an anxious night, apprehensive lest some epidemic might start among the boys. A student who happened to be ill was merely confined to his room, and, if he contracted a contagious disease, he was quarantined where he lived. Even with these disadvantages a remarkable record was made, for, during seventeen years of his administration, Dr. Bancroft was able to say that no Phillips student had died

under his charge. Mr. Stearns soon resolved that a change must be brought about, and in 1908 the Track House was made into a temporary infirmary, where serious cases could be isolated and treated. Three years later Miss Flora Isham gave to the school $30,000 for an infirmary, in honor of her three nephews, all graduates of Phillips Academy. This building, which was constructed under the advice of expert physicians, has all modern hospital accessories, including a well-equipped operating-room and contagious wards; and the patients are under the care of a matron, who is also a trained nurse. The minor diseases which break out intermittently through the year are now easily controlled, and more serious troubles are referred to one of a group of eminent Boston medical men who serve as a kind of advisory board.

The old Brick House, an eyesore on the Hill, was torn down in 1912. Phillips Hall, found to be badly in need of repairs, was almost entirely rebuilt in 1912, at a cost of more than $18,000; and the interior of Bartlet Hall, partly destroyed by fire on the morning of December 8, 1914, was reconstructed so as to be safe from danger of fire. In 1910 the former Treasurer's Office on Main Street, left vacant when the administrative offices were moved to Brechin Hall, was given over to the Phillips Club, an organization consisting of instructors in the Academy and various interested townspeople. The clubrooms, which are the recognized headquarters for graduates on their return to the Hill, serve as a reading-room, and are decorated with autographs and photographs illustrating different phases of school life and history.

Many gifts in the form of scholarship endowments or prize funds or contributions to current expenses have been received during the last fifteen years. Of these it is impossible to speak in detail; but two gifts deserve special mention. The Phillips Gateway — erected by the sons and daughters of John Charles Phillips — was dedicated at Founders' Day, October 10, 1914, with an address by the Honorable William Phillips, of Washington, D.C. The Peabody House, built from the accrued income of the bequest of Robert Singleton Peabody, was formally opened on October 2, 1915. This is now the social center for the student body: it contains a grill-room in the basement; a reading-room on the street floor; and a large assembly-room upstairs, suitable for the meetings of school clubs and for lectures.

Mr. Stearns had been associated with Phillips Academy in the days of its poverty. It was now his good fortune to see it transformed — changed into an institution with a plant unequaled by that of any secondary school, and surpassed by only a few colleges, in the United States. The material prosperity of the school during the years when he has been its head has been unparalleled in its history. The growth, so far as physical resources are concerned, has been more extensive in the last decade than in all the previous period from 1778 to 1907.

In his conduct of the school Dr. Stearns has built largely on the foundation laid by his predecessor; but he has also created definite policies of his own, which have reacted to the enduring benefit of the institution. One of the devices which have been most salu-

tary in bringing teachers into more intimate touch with boys is the system of "division officers." Each officer — a member of the Faculty — is, at the opening of the year, placed in charge of a small group of undergraduates, usually not more than twenty, who are to be his especial care. It is his duty to learn something of their families, their peculiarities, their abilities in work or play, and their attainments. In Faculty meetings he acts as representative of the members of his group and is mainly responsible for whatever disciplinary action is taken regarding them; for, except under unusual circumstances, his judgment concerning his boys is taken as decisive. If the division officer is conscientious and sympathetic, he can exercise an important influence on those who are placed under him. The value of the scheme in practice depends, of course, principally on the energy and tact of the officer himself. Up to the present time it has proved highly successful.

During the early years of Dr. Stearns's administration the "Commons" boys, who were receiving aid from scholarships, were segregated to a considerable degree in certain buildings, such as Brick House, Clement House, and Draper Cottage. Many of them, older and more experienced than their classmates, took positions of leadership in the school; but, associating as they did largely with one another, they tended to become a powerful clique, the members of which expected concessions and constantly demanded special privileges. In this way, and in others also, a sharp distinction was often drawn between "Commons" men and the remainder of the undergraduate

body; the resulting situation was in many respects the reverse of the boasted school democracy. The increase in the number of dormitories enabled Dr. Stearns to abolish the separate "Commons" houses and to place the scholarship boys here and there in dormitories all over the Hill, in rooms differing in no noticeable particular from those for which wealthier students paid comparatively large sums. Under this arrangement rich and poor boys were located along the same corridor, and mingled with one another as they had never done under the old policy of segregation. It was a surprise, even to the Principal, to observe how rapidly the "Commons" clique disappeared and how soon the readjustment was perfected. Democracy in Phillips Academy now means what it should mean — that every student, once admitted, has the same opportunity as his fellows.

Dr. Stearns is the first Principal who has done no teaching while in office; but he has been keenly interested in methods of raising and maintaining the standard of scholarship. Through his influence several new prizes have been added to a list already long, and to-day at Commencement fully $2000 is distributed in prizes and prize scholarships. The names of those taking high honors in various courses are publicly announced at the close of each term, and at intervals through the year. The changes made in the curriculum since 1903 have not been of great significance; but in 1916 the course of study was thoroughly discussed in committee and somewhat revised. Dr. Stearns, who believes that Phillips Academy should continue to uphold the "cultural ideals" of

education, has vigorously resisted the encroachment of vocational training, and has publicly expressed his antagonism to the "tyranny of the practical."

From the opening of his administration Dr. Stearns showed that it was to be his policy to allow to his staff of teachers the largest possible personal and official freedom. Much of the routine detail is managed by committees the members of which, serving continuously from year to year, become familiar with their particular functions. The increase in the size of the Faculty has been brought about so naturally that few have paused to consider its significance. Dr. Bancroft had seldom over twenty teachers, and the average was about one instructor to twenty-five pupils. Of the forty-one persons who are included in the Faculty to-day, thirty-three have a full schedule of classroom work, an average of approximately one teacher to every sixteen students. The smaller divisions thus made possible give instructors an opportunity to devote more individual attention to each pupil, and, in this way, help to improve the quality of the work done by the school as a whole.

Much has already been said of Dr. Bancroft's endeavor to preserve a permanent faculty. As Dr. Stearns's administration draws to the close of its fifteenth year, there are still among the teachers eleven men who received their appointments under Dr. Bancroft. Twenty-three of the whole number have been connected with the school for five years or more. That it has been possible to retain able instructors as long as this speaks well for Phillips Academy, and shows the loyalty of the staff to the

present Principal. The Day bequest in 1913 enabled the Trustees to put into operation a long-delayed plan for substantial increases in the salaries of the teachers. It is rarely nowadays that a really efficient man is allowed to depart because of a lack of sufficient inducements; he is likely to come to the conclusion that the material rewards are reasonably adequate and that the chance to do good in his profession is unexcelled by that in any other institution, even one of collegiate rank.

A fresh organization of religious work in the Academy became necessary with the changes incident to the removal of the Theological Seminary from Andover. In 1907 Mr. Markham W. Stackpole came to Andover as School Minister; and under his and the Principal's guidance an undenominational Academy Church was formed, which includes both students and teachers. At the two services which are held in the Stone Chapel every Sunday, Mr. Stackpole is frequently the preacher; but other clergymen who also appeal especially to young men are often secured. Practical Christianity is exemplified in the labors of the Society of Inquiry, and in the work done by the school at large among the foreigners in the city of Lawrence.

One interesting feature of recent years has been the development of music in connection with other activities. In 1908 Mrs. William C. Egleston presented to the Academy a new organ, in memory of her husband, a member of the class of 1856, and this instrument has been of much aid in training a competent choir. Mr. Stackpole, with Mr. Joseph N. Ashton, a former

THE PHILLIPS GATEWAY

PEABODY HOUSE

Director of Music in the school, published *Hymns for Schools and Colleges*, a book containing hymns suitable for use in Phillips Academy. Under Mr. Carl F. Pfatteicher, the present Director of Music, the choir has been much improved, and several excellent musical entertainments are held annually; Mr. Pfatteicher has been singularly successful in securing the coöperation of residents of the town, and in forming a flourishing choral society.

The progress on which so much stress has been laid has been accompanied by a revival of interest in the early days of Phillips Academy, displayed by a desire to preserve old records and to study ancient traditions. One phase of this movement has taken shape in the establishment of a Founders' Day. The first of these celebrations, held on October 11, 1913, was signalized by the dedication of a memorial tablet placed on the Archæology Building, near the site of the first Academy. On this occasion the speakers were the Honorable William H. Taft and the Honorable Henry L. Stimson. On the two succeeding Founders' Days exercises were held dedicating the Phillips Gateway and the Peabody House. The Founders' Memorial, read as part of the programme, names in solemn gratitude the benefactors to whom the school owes so much.

Commencement, also, has been assuming increased importance, mainly through the attendance of a larger number of alumni. The "old boys," responding to the efforts which are constantly being made to keep alive their affection for the school, are returning to class reunions and taking part in the festivities. At

the annual alumni dinner held in the Borden Gymnasium nearly five hundred covers are laid, and the number increases each year. The same enthusiasm is shown by the Phillips graduates in the larger cities. In New York and Boston from two to three hundred men gather every winter for the Association banquet. Dr. Stearns has taken nearly every year a trip to the West in order to attend alumni gatherings along the route. In even more practical fashion the devotion of Andover men is being displayed in the rapid growth of the Alumni Fund, which, started in 1906, has now become an important element in filling the treasury. To-day about fourteen per cent of the graduates are contributing sums large and small to this cause. In sympathy and loyalty to their school the alumni are united to-day as they never were in times gone by.

Since Principal Stearns took office, there have been a number of changes on the Board of Trustees. Dr. George Harris, at that date President of Amherst College, was elected to the Board in 1902, and, after Judge Bishop's resignation in 1903, was given the latter's place as President. The President since Dr. Harris's retirement in 1908 has been Mr. Alfred L. Ripley, who was first made a Trustee in 1902. Mr. Ripley, who is a graduate of Phillips Academy and of Yale College, is a Boston banker residing in Andover, and has had many connections with the school. Other gentlemen who have been elected to the Board are Professor Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University (1902); the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, of New York (1905); Elias B. Bishop, Esq., of Boston (1907); Judge John A. Aiken, of Boston (1908); Dr. Frederick

T. Murphy, of St. Louis (1908); Mr. Joseph Parsons, of Lakeville, Connecticut (1910); and Mr. Frederick G. Crane, of Dalton, Massachusetts (1912).

Among the factors which have lately been strengthening Phillips Academy no single influence has been more powerful than the attitude of the Board of Trustees as a corporate body towards the school. Not so many years ago the Board was interested primarily in the Theological Seminary and paid comparatively little attention to the Academy. To-day there is on the Board no minister with a parish, and only two of the members, one of them being Dr. Stearns, hold degrees in divinity; while the guidance of the Seminary has passed into other hands. The Trustees now represent business, and the various professions of law, medicine, theology, and education; the result is that their deliberations are marked by tolerance and breadth of vision. Of the men now constituting the Board, twelve are former students of Phillips Academy, and the thirteenth, Professor Moore, has been a teacher there. Every one of them, moreover, is keenly interested in the welfare of the institution, and takes pains to inform himself regarding it. It was not so thirty years ago. The Executive Committee of the Board convenes regularly once a month, and meetings of the entire body are held quarterly. These gatherings are not merely perfunctory sessions, but are filled with active discussion of school problems. In the old days the Principal made an exhaustive annual report; now the Trustees are so familiar with what is going on that they have no need of such a document. It is noticeable, too, that

the Trustees keep in touch with the instructors, meet with them frequently in consultation, and attempt to learn their views on Academy matters. The wish of the Trustees individually and collectively to secure and retain the coöperation of the teachers has done much to preserve harmony in the management of Phillips Academy.

In some respects, as we have seen, Dr. Stearns's administration has been crowded with significant events. From another viewpoint, however, the school has gone on so smoothly year after year that the momentous changes have seemed to follow naturally one after the other as logical steps in progress. Dramatic incidents have been singularly lacking. In 1912–13 Dr. Stearns went abroad, leaving the Academy in charge of Professor Charles H. Forbes, and it was never more prosperous than in that year. In the following year Phillips Academy reached a registration of 592, the largest in its history. At this period the Trustees voted to limit the enrollment to approximately 550, on the ground that the present equipment does not justify them in attempting to care for more than that number. In order to carry out this policy it has been necessary to select carefully from the applicants those who are best fitted and who offer the most satisfactory previous records. It has also seemed advisable to restrict considerably the number of boys who come to Phillips Academy for one year only. Even with these limitations the applications in any given year are far more than can be accepted.

The most striking feature of this increase in the

size of the student body is, however, the number of different sections of the country which the boys represent. In 1915–16 there were in Phillips Academy young men from thirty-eight States and seven foreign countries, and the situation in this year was not at all unusual. Of the nineteen players who won their "A's" in athletics a year or two ago, eight were from Massachusetts, and the others came, one each, from Maine, New Jersey, Illinois, Tennessee, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Oregon, California, Iowa, and Canada. In this mingling prejudices are softened, provincialisms are forgotten, sectionalism disappears; in such a national school, boys are taught the great lesson that local partisanship must be subordinated to the glory of our country as a whole.

CHAPTER XXVI

CONCLUSION

NEW occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
We must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of truth.

THE story of Phillips Academy has not been one of uniform and continuous prosperity. There have been mistakes and calamities, periods of depression and even of decline. But throughout its existence the men who have moulded its fortunes have been confident of its future. Furthermore they have not deviated from the fundamental theories upon which it was established. Some of the harder and less inspiring aspects of Puritanism have long ceased to be popular on Andover Hill; but the Puritan idealism has never lost its foothold there. So Phillips Academy is now liberal, democratic, and national — as it was a century ago.

If there is any danger which lies in wait for Phillips Academy, it is the peril which confronts all old institutions — that of immovable complacency, of smug satisfaction in the contemplation of a glorious past. It is only too easy to fall back upon the couch of conservatism until, almost without realizing it, one is out of touch with the temper of the age. President Fitch, of Andover Theological Seminary, recently sounded the clarion call when he told Harvard men that it was their obligation to keep their university "perpetually a place of pioneers." His words are so applicable to Phillips Academy that they deserve further quotation: —

CONCLUSION

We must refuse to be provincials, satisfied with the local, the accredited, the known. . . . America has the right to expect of us that we shall never sit at ease in Zion, but stand on the firing line of our generation. Intellectual adventure, spiritual plasticity, moral enterprise — these are the marks of our *alma mater*.

It is for Andover men, especially those who control the destinies of the institution, to preserve that freshness of spirit, that devotion to a splendid cause, which actuated Samuel Phillips, Jr., in 1778, when, undeterred by coward doubts, he created a new school, as his friend, George Washington, built a new nation.

That same forward vision, that same courage, are in the school to-day. If that standard is maintained, the preëminence of Phillips Academy is assured.

THE END

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